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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XVIII., NO. 51 NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1909. PRICE: TWO CENTS. ONE DOLLAR PER YEAR.

ARROWHEADS

RIPPING CAPITALIST COVERINGS AND EXPOSING THE SHOW.

An Anthracite Strike in the Fall, and Its Value to Bituminous Operators—Good Reason for Naming George T. Oliver U. S. Senator to Succeed Philander C. Knox.

Porto Rico's House of Delegates deserves congratulations. Only from that quarter of the compass came the solitary note of sense and warning to Taft in the midst of the din of unthinking popular self-satisfaction. The House of Delegates of Porto Rico cabled to Taft the hope that his administration "will be prosperous for the United States and for the liberties which the people deserve but which they do not enjoy." Porto Rico is evidently "disenchanted."

Governor-General Smith has refused to confirm the decision of the Philippine Court declaring valid the election of Dominador Gomez to the Municipal Council of Manila. The Governor-General's reason is powerful—Gomez is a "pest." Still more powerful is the Governor-General's reason for his reason—Gomez attempted to organize the stevedores. Governor-General Smith eclipses Euclid in close reasoning.

It is to be hoped that in his letters to Germany on the so-called Trades Union Movement of America the German metal worker "Chagrin," now taking notes here, will not overlook the remarkable phenomenon now exhibited by the officers of the United Mine Workers, with President Lewis at their head. One of the demands that he makes of the employers is that they shall agree to check-off the union dues from their employes' wages, because "this concession would result in the Union being built up quickly"! ! ! Such is A. F. of L. unionism. The employer is urged to officiate as financial secretary of the Union, without which function, exercised by the employer, the Union can not be built and kept up, that is to say, the officers of the union would be left without any salary, they not being wanted by the rank and file, and being merely forced upon them by the employer who checks off the dues.

Readers of The People must be sure not to miss the treat of the passage from a recent article by Plechanoff, published in this issue under the title "Plechanoff on Untermann." If Plechanoff were more familiar with the journalistic literature issued by the intellectuals with the brains of a peacock, who arise in America as amenders or "perfecters" of Marx, and, consequently, objectors to the S. L. P., then might he not have bothered with spanking specimen Untermann, and we all would have missed the treat of a terse exposition of Marxian philosophy, given to the sonorous swish of the lash wielded by Plechanoff over Untermann (and the Untermanns), turned right side up over Plechanoff's knees.

French and German exchanges, reporting the recent election of a General-Secretary of the Syndicalists (revolutionary Union) contain refreshing news and interesting details. The Anarchistic General-Secretary Griffuelhes was defeated, and he was succeeded, with Socialist support, by the bookbinder Niel, who received the support of almost all the large Unions—besides his own, of the railroad workers, textile workers, machinists, miners, etc. Noteworthy is the circumstance that, prominent among the workmen who withheld their support from Niel, and gave it to Griffuelhes, were the matchworkers—Government employes! !—Matchmaking is a French Government monopoly.

Eye-opening are the qualifications assigned from Washington upon the strength of which Frank B. Wilborg has been appointed Assistant Secretary of Commerce and Labor. First, Mr. W. is a personal friend of President Taft; second, having until recently lived in the Congress District represented by the ex-President's son-in-law, Mr. W. tried and failed to supplant the gentleman; third, Mr. W. then moved into the Congress District represented by Herman P. Goebel, and thereby threatened some fresh political disturbances in the Republican camp of Cincinnati; fourth, these disturbances must be avoided; and fifth, Mr. W. recently bought an elegant house in Washington. Such are the qualifications for office in the Department of Commerce and Labor.

The bituminous coal mine owners seem to have the situation pretty well in hand. A strike in the anthracite region during the hot season of the year would not begin to be so fruitful of returns to the dealers in bituminous coal as would be a strike in the winter. Accordingly, the information is being confidently published that there will be no anthracite strike before fall.

Is there anything peculiar in the unanimous choice of George T. Oliver, *iron manufacturer and banker* of Pittsburg to fill the unexpired term of Philander Knox in the United States Senate? Nothing at all. The peculiarity would have occurred if, now that the tariff "threatens the iron industry," the Pennsylvania plutocracy had selected the representative of some not threatened industry.

Sleepest thou, William Nelson Cromwell, or art dead? The annex of the Fruit Trust, which annex goes under the title of Republic of Costa Rica, is reported threatened with a military invasion from Nicaragua. Scan the report as one may, William Nelson Cromwell—the *deus ex machina* in nine out of ten turmoils in Latin America during recent years, beginning with the birth of what is variously called the "Republic of Panama," or "Panama Canal," and which will eventually be known by the single name of the "Panama Scandal"— does not appear, at least not by name.

"The Weekly People has been coming to our desk for some time, and we are sorry to note that the Printing Trades Label is missing. We wonder what the trouble can be."—New Orleans "Labor Record."

No trouble whatever; only Arcadian peace and lovingness.

Mrs. Anna Shroeder having been robbed of $200 on the roof of a tenement house by "a man who wore a cap such as is used by street car conductors," one Harry Skinner was arrested "on suspicion." The "suspicion" lay in the circumstance that Skinner had once been a conductor. Next time a bank president loots his depositors, all he needs do in order to throw suspicion off his tracks is to don a conductor's cap.

The Republican politicians and those behind them, who grumbled at the Fourth of March storm, will have hard work to keep their faces straight for future grumblings. The blizzard is affording them a pretext for making the period between a president's election and his inauguration fully two months longer. Thus the threat of a general shut-down if an opposition candidate is elected can be repeated with 50 per cent. more emphasis in 1912.

Congratulations are due to the country-at-large, and thanks to the Roman Catholic priest, Kubiszewiski of Manitowoc, Wis., in particular, for his having plumply announced from the pulpit that he will not tolerate Socialist party men in his congregation. Aye, congratulations are due to all of us, and thanks to the gentleman, even from the Socialist party itself. With increasing impudence prowling politicians, cassocked in the livery of clergymen of almost all denominations, are found daring to meddle with the citizens' political prerogatives. Most of these perambulating lumps of beaked and fanged politicians, in ambush behind the shows and trappings of religion, are gifted with a low cunning that renders difficult their detection, and that helps to dupe the weak-minded whom they approach. The priest Kubiszewiski is frank, open and above board about it—for that he deserves our thanks. Judging from the known to the unknown—from the wolf out of cover to the wolves under cover—the problem becomes definite—for that the country at large is to be congratulated.

"Chagrin," the Stuttgart, Germany, Metall-Arbeiter-Zeitung's special correspondent, now traveling in America, comments with merited causticness upon the conduct of Gompers and his A. F. of L. during the recent presidental campaign. Among other things he says: "The workingman who aspires at nothing better than capitalism should comfortably abstain from voting: he already enjoys capitalism. He need put forth no effort to bring that about."

President William M. Wood of the American Woolen Company feels at ease for the item of profit. Says he: "The one thing to give way, if a reduction in the woolen tariff is made, as proposed, must be the wages of the woolen mill operatives. There's nothing else to cut." Not for nothing have the woolen mill owners kept on their pension lists a lot of labor lieutenants who either walk on all fours, or rant Socialist phrases through their hats—in either case keeping the workers in sublime mental muddle and virtually disorganized.

Undeterred by the revelations made by "Charities and the Commons" concerning low wages and inhuman conditions in the steel plants, Charles M. Schwab deplores a reduction of the tariff on steel on the ground that "a low tariff means lower wages, whereas a high tariff raises wages." Or is this brazenness only in seeming, and Mr. Schwab is really solicitous of the life of his wage slaves, fearing that a lower tariff, by pressing their wages still lower, would render them still more wretched?

Triumphant S. L. P.! The open letter of Mrs. Oscar Neebe, published in this issue, to the now uncovered slum-Anarchist Fred Heslewood, contributes fresh testimony to two things—the irrefutableness of S. L. P. principle, and the mental imbecility, together with the moral turpitude, of the Party's assailants. It is an unerring sign of mental imbecility when, unable to tackle a principle, an assailant centers his attack upon an individual. The ever accompanying ear-mark of such mental imbecility is the moral turpitude of slander, and always slander from guilty consciences who seek to cover their own corrupt tracks by imputing corruption to others.

Army ordnance experts are reported working over plans for a new carriage for the existing field piece which will make the gun effective against aeroplanes and balloons. Not an unlikely thing, the planning for such a carriage. The recent development of aerial navigation is big with economic and political possibilities that are gripes-imparting to the class that now operates the field pieces.

"Broadness" is being exemplified in the so-called Socialist party. While the S. P. man Robert Hunter advocates a theory that throws upon the flood of "degraded immigrants" the blame for the race suicide committed by his old stock of Americans, another S. P. man, George Sylvester Viereck, aided and abetted by another S. P. man, the hoppingly celebrated Julius Hopp, orates on the "poison of Puritanism." There are broadnesses that remind one of the ash-barrel.

Though the suicide in Boston of Mrs. Wildes Elton is a sad happening, one can not help looking upon the deceased as upon a person who sought to hold back a runaway horse by tugging at his tail—and succumbed to the animal's kicks. Mrs. Elton deplored the state of marital conditions. Instead of taking hold of the evil at its head, or fountain, she seized its tail. Her theory was that wives should feed their husbands scientifically. "Give husbands not what they like to eat but what science says is good for them" was her motto and advice to wives. That was to prevent divorces. In line herewith the lady had drawn up a bill for the Massachusetts legislature, with the final consequence that she despaired, and fed herself to carbolic acid.

"The People" is the paper that you want. Straight and Truthful.

ONCE MORE, ABROGATE THAT RUSSIAN TREATY

It should not be necessary to add aught to the few terse sentences, that introduce the Petition issued by the Pouren Defence Conference for the abrogation of the Russian extradition treaty, in order to enlist the sympathy, co-operation and hearty support of all right-minded people.

Not infrequently the charge is heard against Socialism that it raises a barrier between its devotees and the rest of the population, rendering them quasi aliens to the non-Socialist mass. The charge is incorrect. Socialism, not being Anarchy, does not proceed upon a theory that renders the striven-for Socialist Commonwealth akin to an aerolite dropped from the skies. Socialism is a link in social evolution. How incorrect the charge, and how truly Socialism connects with the past and the present—the best of the past and the present that Socialism is the issue of, becomes manifest from the posture of the honorably alert people of the land.

Both Federal and State Constitutions guarantee to the citizen "a speedy trial" in cases of arrest.

The Russian Government, planted upon the existing treaty of extradition, is verifying one and all the apprehensions entertained by those who, familiar with Moscovite methods, rang the note of warning, a note not heeded at the time the treaty was proposed. Russian refugees are arrested in America—and then? —and then the Government of the Czar proceeds with snail-foot leisure to "secure the proofs," while its victim languishes in prison.

The worst abuse of power that Magna Charta is glorious for having smitten, and that the smoldering embers of the torn-down Bastile once more attested that human progress would not brook—that abuse the Russian treaty of extradition is now allowing, and is allowing in our country.

The Russian extradition treaty is an insult, it is a menace to a great achievement of onward and upward moving Civilization.

Whether Republican, or Democrat or Socialist—whether free trade, protectionist, or anti-wage slavery—as a people, standing upon the elevation of Twentieth Century Civilization—we all prize dearly the conquests made by Progress. Upon that ground stand we all. From that ground do we all proceed. United we all rush to the defence of a common patrimony in loudly demanding—

THE ABROGATION OF THE RUSSIAN TREATY OF EXTRADITION.

THE "KALISPELL BEE"

EVOLUTION OF A CAPITALIST POLITICAL PAPER, VIA THE S. P., TO THE "I AM A BUMS."

Started by Marcus Daly to Fight Senator Clark—Employes Are Given Stock—S. L. P. Press and Literature Organize I. W. W. Lumbermen—"Appeal to Reason" and Other S. P. Papers Pushed in by Foremen—Healthy Revolutionary Spirit of Lumbermen to Be Choked Off—Enter Walsh, Heslewood & Co. With Cash to "Buy a Home."

Spokane, Wash., March 12.—The "Kalispell Bee" of Kalispell, Mont., announces the recent meetings of J. H. Walsh in that city were attended by "a tremendous crowd." It does not tell about what kind of crowd. Whether it was a crowd of working people who wanted to get organized, or just a gathering of people, who, through curiosity, had come to see and hear the High Priest of Bums.

It will be interesting to many to know a little of some of these papers which have found their account in giving Walsh so much advertising free.

The "Kalispell Bee" was originally established some years ago by the capitalist politician, Marcus Daly to fight the influence of W. A. Clark in Flathead County. A. J. Chapman of the Butte "Inter Mountain" was sent over to take charge of the mechanical department. Subsequently, in 1903, Chapman joined the Socialist Party. For five years he has been a close student of Marx and all literature handled by the Socialist Labor Party, though the only literature he ever tried to circulate being the usual kind handled by the Socialist party.

During the troubled times when W. A. Clark wanted to get elected to the United States Senate Marcus Daly was putting all his efforts and using all his influence in the legislature to prevent Clark from being elected. It was at this session that Fred. Whiteside, a member of the legislature, stood up on the floor of representatives in Helena and flourishing $30,000 in bills over his head, exclaimed he had received the money from W. A. Clark for his vote and his influence for the election of Clark to the Senate, but, thank God, he was too honest to sell his vote for $30,000 or any other amount. Whiteside, before this, was a poor carpenter and contractor. Since this memorable session Whiteside has been living an easy life. He has been able to build himself a costly mansion, and planted a fine orchard near Kalispell, and has been making regular trips during sessions of the legislature to Butte and Helena and also New York and Washington, D. C., in the interest of legislation and good welfare of the people in general.

After the death of Marcus Daly, the "Kalispell Bee" was transferred to a so-called stock company, with Whiteside as principle stockholder and Editor-in-chief. He also assumed other responsibilities which had formerly been attended to by the manager of "The Bee." He got to be speaker at the annual Labor Day celebrations, and lecturer at farmers' institutes, although he knows about as much about farming as the man in the moon. Chapman, who, as stated above, was in charge of the mechanical department and also secretary of Local Kalispell, Socialist Party, and one Mr. Knight also received a certain amount of stock in "The Bee," and got the Assistant Editorship of the paper and secretaryship of the Democratic Central Committee of Flathead County. The affairs of the Republican party were left to the tender mercies of Mr. Goshorn of the "Inter Lake."

The lumber workers at Somers went out on strike from August 2 to August 5, 1906, and won out. Although unorganized, the full force, about 350 men, came out with the exception of a few foremen and about 8 or 10 laborers. The literature of the S. L. P. had taught them industrial unionism about this time. A union was formed and, in spite of the fact that the man who afterwards took the lead in getting the union formed, tried all he could to get the union into the A. F. of L., the men voted unanimous to affiliate with the I. W. W. After this strike the agitators and sympathizers of the S. L. P. were gradually crowded out by the former. The agitation of the S. L. P. and the literature of the S. L. P. was now substituted by Socialist party print—especially "Appeal to Reason" literature, which kept the members in ignorance of the state of affairs during and after the second convention of the I. W. W., and kept them in line and paying dues to Sherman.

From June, 1907, to May, 1908, Somers and Kalispell were again strongly under the influence of S. L. P. literature and in November, 1907, the Somers and Kalispell locals, having by then repudiated Sherman, reaffiliated with the I. W. W. Up to that time the Socialist party local at Kalispell had not taken any step to promote the interest of the I. W. W.

As A. J. Chapman was emphatic in declaring that he only secured those $500 worth of stock in the "Kalispell Bee" to secure himself a steady job; and being a fine gentleman and a man who evidently had the cause of the working class at heart, he succeeded in dispelling all suspicion as to his ultimate motive. He was invited to join the union, which he did in December, 1907. When the writer of this resigned in April, 1908, as literary agent for Local 421, I. W. W., Chapman was elected for that position. Immediately after this the Socialist party in Kalispell became very, "active in the interest of the I. W. W." It held meetings at the I. W. W. hall and supplied the I. W. W. with speakers. Heslewood was one of the speakers in the I. W. W. Hall under the management of the Socialist party. During a short trip I made to Kalispell last September I looked into the I. W. W. headquarters. I found plenty of "Bulletins," about 150 copies of "Chicago Socialist"; about 75 copies of "Montana News"; a big stack of magazines of McClure's and the like; a checkerboard and a deck of cards; and only 3 copies of the Weekly People, which I suppose had been put there by a sympathizer and evidently overlooked by the "censor."

Now, watch! The literature put in circulation by the S. L. P. at Spokane, Kalispell and Somers is taking effect amongst the lumber workers in those regions, and the Lumber Associations will have a hard time keeping their slaves from organizing industrially. This the lumber barons know. What to do? If the lumber workers are bound to organize along those lines it is to the interest of the lumber combine to promote the schemes and bogus methods of Walsh & Co.; to misrepresent the aims and object of the I. W. W. and prevent the real I. W. W. from getting a foothold as long as possible. At this juncture, what is that we see? The Spokane "Evening Chronicle" of March 1, publishes under big head lines and with obvious joy the following item:

"MAKE HIS HOME
IN SPOKANE"

"Fred W. Heslewood, national organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World, who has been here during the last week to relieve J. H. Walsh, will purchase a home in or near Spokane. Mr. Heslewood is well suited in the Inland Empire country. It is probable that he will locate in Coeur d'Alene, in order to be in close touch with the timber workers of that region."

Need any more be said—just now?

R. Clausen.

LABOR REPORT TO SEE LIGHT.

Record of Colorado Labor Troubles Buried for Four Years by Hostile Politicians.

Denver, Col., March 9.—Edwin V. Brake, the newly appointed deputy state labor commissioner, who assumes office in April, will have published his report of four years ago, when he held the same office.

For political reasons his biennial report during his former term in that office was never printed by the state, because of the objection by the then Republican administration to the manner in which Brake treated the labor war in Colorado. It did not then square with the Republicans' conception of the "law and order" issue upon which Peabody was running for re-election as governor.

Because of the position of the Republican party at that time Brake withdrew his affiliation from that organization and cast his political fortunes with the Democratic party. As a result of the Republicans attitude, which was not in line with Brake's report on the labor situation, the secretary of state refused to have the labor commissioner's biennial document printed and it has since slept the sleep of the undisclosed and unrevealed.

UNEMPLOYED IN COLUMBUS.

Columbus, O., March 7.—The unemployed at their last meeting organized to look after their own affairs, and not depend upon the charity workers to look out for them any longer. They have not only organized to plead their own cause, but have adopted a preamble which says production should be for use. They seem to see a light on the present condition of affairs.

Committees were appointed to call on the city authorities and the Board of Trade to urge that work be given. A committee was sent to the county commissioners who have in their possession a large fund that can only be used for such purposes. This fund is known as the Akin law fund, which accrues from the thousand dollar saloon tax.

This is the first effort in this county to use this fund. The board of charities have made an effort to get it; but were unsuccessful.

The unemployed are now circulating a preamble and asking other men to join their association. The following is a statement of their aims:

The unemployed of Columbus have in mass meeting assembled, for the purpose of considering methods of action by which the unemployed may be given work or food. This condition of desperation on account of the lack of food, clothing and shelter, is a thing that can only be endorsed for a limited time and under very extraordinary circumstances. Man is not so constituted as to bear the strain and tension that is being labored under.

This association shall be as permanent as the conditions that bring it into existence demand; and its scope of action shall be as elastic as is necessary to assure the workers beyond a doubt, the food, clothing, and shelter which they produce, which means that things must be produced for use.

ORDERS COMING FOR LATEST SUE BOOK.

John Kircher of Cleveland, O., leads off with an order for one hundred copies of "The Carlovingian Coins," the latest Sue story in book form. Section Allegheny County, Pa., takes fifteen; Jersey City, five; Tacoma, Wash., five; George Signarovitz, Brooklyn, N. Y., ten.

Rush in the orders. The price of the book is 50 cents.

New York Labor News Co.
28 City Hall Place,
New York.

THE LAND OF THE FREE

LOS ANGELES TROLLEY MEN MUST SIGN COMPANY'S

Petition Demanding Defeat of Eight-Hour Bill in California Legislature or Be Dropped from Company's Pay-Roll—Men Admit They Are Forced to Comply.

Los Angeles, Cal., March 5.—The Harriman-Huntington interests in the street car system of this city are busy at present testing the patriotism of their employes, the conductors and motormen. The test consists in asking the trolleymen to magnanimously declare that they don't need an eight hours' work-day; that their sense of liberty leads them to declare that a thirteen hours' day is more compatible with the spirit of American freedom. As an inducement, and just to show the company's generosity if the men so declare, the management has promised that they will be allowed to hold on to their jobs.

Superintendent John J. Atkin, of the Los Angeles Railway Company, is particularly exercised that the men should not plunge into suicide. He has had danger signals hung up as follows:

"If you don't sign a petition to the legislature against the passage of the eight-hour law, you are hurting yourselves.

"If this law goes into effect the best wages you can make will be at the rate of twenty-four cents an hour, or $1.92 a day."

Every effort is being made by the officials to force the men in their employ to sign the petition. So strong has been the influence brought to bear on this matter that Supt. J. J. Atkin of the L. A. Railway Co. went to the car barns at Central avenue and Seventh street yesterday and insisted to the men that unless their signatures were placed on the petition the maximum of their wages would total no more than $13.44 a week, working seven days.

The officials of the Pacific Electric company also got busy and the men in their employment were treated to a similar dose.

One of the street car men, in talking about the proposition, had this to say:

"This talk of Atkin sounded like an appeal to an outsider, but it sounded a whole lot like a threat to the men! He was giving an ultimatum to the men that, if it was passed, the street car men of the city who have wives and families to support could not get living wages for their work."

"Was it a threat?" he was asked.

"Well, he gave us to understand that the names that were on the petition would stay on the payroll and the others might not," was the answer.

"You see, when Huntington comes to look over the payroll, he will pick out the men who signed the petition to stay with the company."

Documents show that at present many men on the street railway system are working thirteen hours a day.

"I've got two children to send to school and a wife to take care of," said another motorman. "I don't know what the wife and they would do if I was to be dumped upon the street. What's a fellow going to do but sign?"

WINS HIS SUIT.

Laborer, His Eyesight Ruined in Cave-In, Gets $3,000 Verdict from Construction Company.

White Plains, N. Y., March 12.—Anton Was, a laborer who was employed in the construction of the new Bronx Valley sewer and who sued the Mack Paving & Construction Company, which has the contract for the work, for $25,000 damages for the loss of his eyesight, was awarded a verdict in Justice Tompkins's court to-day for $3,000 against the contractors. The plaintiff was working in the trench at Scarsdale when part of the excavation fell upon and nearly buried him. His eyesight was destroyed. On the trial it was alleged that the company was negligent in not properly shoring up the trench where he was employed. The plaintiff has a wife and nine children.

The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

PLECHANOFF ON UNTERMANN

A "Scientist" Shown Up for a Shallow and Pretentious Wordmonger.

[A passage froma critique by George Plechanoff entitled "Joseph Dietzgen," translated from the Russian for The People by Jos. Kresswell.]

When G. P. Dauge, in his Russian edition of Antonio Labriola's "Socialism and Philpsophy," published the supplement thereto of an American Socialist, Ernest Untermann, it was evidently with a belief in the value of the supplement. He was mistaken.

Untermann's work will bring no enlightenment to Russian readers. Its author is only very superficially acquainted with the subject of which he treated. To convince himself of this, a reader of discretion has only to peruse the following citation, very valuable in its way, from the supplement under discussion:

"The founders of scientific Socialism inverted Hegelian dialectics and transformed it into a practical method of historical research. They had, indeed, squared their accounts with the German classic philosophy and eighteenth and nineteenth century materialism. But they limited themselves from the outset to the practical social implications of their new theory. They had to specialize in order to accomplish something great, and they selected with keen insight those specialties which bore most directly upon the practical problems of their time. To what extent they had penetrated independently into the problem of cognition before they made this choice no one can know but those comrades who have charge of the unpublished joint manuscript of Marx and Engels written in 1845-46. But it is safe to say that this manuscript would have been published by this time if it contained such a contribution to historical materialism as that supplied by Joseph Dietzgen. This assumption is further strengthened by the fact that Marx and Engels acknowledged Dietzgen's merit, and called him the 'philosopher of the proletariat.' And it is further borne out by the fact that even the latest writings of Engels, such as Anti-Duering and Feuerbach, in the passages dealing directly with the problems of cognition, free will, moral consciousness, do not contain anything which materially modifies the original conception of human consciousness formulated by Marx."

What did this so-called original conception of human consciousness consist in? Untermann confesses outright that he does not know. Yet, in spite of this, he knows that the founders of scientific Socialism had inverted dialectics, and put it on its feet.

What does it mean, to put dialectics on its feet?

Untermann does not explain. Let us turn to the fountain-head. Marx says: "With Hegel the logical process, which under the name of ideas turns into a real subject, is the demiurg of reality, which in turn is the external phenomenon. With me it is just the contrary. The ideal is material transferred to the human brain and there perfected."

And what does this mean? This is the theory of self-consciousness, and a theory of definite character it is too: the materialistic theory of self-consciousness. E. Untermann has, therefore, within easy reach, a statement upon which to form an opinion of the Marxian understanding of self-consciousness, without waiting for the entrance into the world of the as yet unpublished philosophical works of Marx and Engels. But he, it seems, did not even suspect the existence of that statement. Like others, he has continually repeated: "Marx and Engels put dialectics on its feet," completely ignorant of the fact that such a thing could not have been accomplished without the aid of the theory of self-consciousness.

And a very principled writer is E. Untermann, to be sure. To tell the truth, he has seemingly good excuse. The Marxian theory has as yet remained undeveloped. But this evil he might have remedied with his own intellectual powers, had he had any. In the words of Marx just quoted, namely, that according to Hegel, the logical process always turned into a subject, is contained a thought literally borrowed from Feuerbach; and this circumstance should have reminded E. Untermann of the widely known fact that Marx evolved his theory by the critical analysis of Feuerbach's philosophy, which, in turn, was evolved by the same process from the philosophy of Hegel. Had E. Untermann taken the pains to acquaint himself with the philosophy of Feuerbach, he would have had ample data at his disposal to judge of the essence of the Marxian theory of self-consciousness. But the gentleman totally failed to get the right information on this subject. Furthermore, the well-known and long-published Marxian thesis on the philosophy of Feuerbach would have proven to our learned author just in what particulars, in Marx's eyes, Feuerbach's philosophy was unsatisfactory. Through this Marxian thesis new data would have offered themselves to our learned author for a proper estimate of Marx's analytics. And had he judiciously used all these data, then the reading of Engel's Anti-Duering, and of Feuerbach would not have been fruitless, and he would at least have understood that it is positively impossible to enlarge or perfect Marx by Dietzgen's works.

But Untermann has a very slight acquaintance with the Marxian theory, and its philosophical origin was totally unknown to him. And, last but not least, in the realms of philosophy the gentleman is not a dilettante even, but simply a very mediocre figure. It is not surprising, therefore, that he has found it necessary to perfect Marx.

Lately it has become the fashion for any one, considering himself a Marxian, and finding some void in his intellectual horizon, to enlarge and perfect the Marxian theory.

Besides, only from E. Untermann have we got the information that Marx and Engels forever did away with German classic philosophy and French bourgeois materialism. Very well then, but how did they accomplish that? According to him they did it by utilizing the discoveries of both! German philosophy, following the dialectical method, was completely surfeited with idealism; bourgeois materialism on the other hand almost completely ignored dialectics. Marx and Engels forever renounced idealism, having made materialism dialectical. But to make materialism dialectical does not yet mean to renounce it. Similarly, to put dialectics on its feet, i. e., make it materialistic, does not mean to do away with dialectics. Of course, the dialectic materialism of Marx and Engels differs in many particulars, for instance, from the French materialism of the eighteenth century. But this difference is simply an unavoidable result of the historic development of materialism itself. The French materialism of the eighteenth century in its turn differed not only from the materialism of Democritus and Epicurus, but from the materialism of Hobbs and Gassendi. That the founders of scientific Socialism did not display the same negligence towards the bourgeois materialism of the eighteenth century which our erudite Mr. Untermann reveals, is seen from one of Engels' articles in the Volksstaat, in which he recommends the French Socialists to acquaint the French proletariat with the "splendid materialistic literature of the eighteenth century."

But Untermann has not the least idea of these facts, and furthermore is proud of it, considering himself too far in advance of Marx and Engels—thanks to Dietzgen. However it be, our author is firmly convinced that the primary (to him completely unknown, as is revealed plainly by his book) Marxian understanding of human self-consciousness has been considerably enlarged upon by Dietzgen. What arguments does he bring to fortify his conviction, elucidated by him for the instruction of the "narrow Marxists"? Only a few extracts from the works of Joseph Dietzgen, proving without a doubt that the unusually gifted German workman had great philosophical talent, but which have absolutely not one single theoretical proposition which might have been new in comparison with the works of Marx, Engels, or even Feuerbach. Still Mr. Untermann naively thinks that his extracts shed a flood of light on the "problem of self-consciousness." Having joined the above-mentioned extracts to a few from the works of the late Antonio Labriola, he self-satisfiedly remarks that this patchwork "reveals at once the characteristic difference in theories." Historical materialism is a result of the development of human society; proletarian "monism" has as its fountainhead "universal nature." This man has read Feuerbach and "Anti-Duering" has failed to grasp, after all, the fact that historical materialism served only as a means to the dialectical method of sociology, the fountain-head of which appears in "universal nature." Our learned friend, it seems, has not read that part of Engels' introduction to "Anti-Duering" where the author says that he and Marx transferred materialism into history.

What is "materialism" the product of? It is the product of society. The earth, according to fable, rests on whales, the whales on the water, and the water—on the earth. Plain enough?

REVISIONISTS AND REVOLUTIONISTS

REFORMERS ARE THE REAL "IMPOSSIBILISTS": THEIR METHODS LEAD NOT TO SOCIALISM.

Translated from the "Golos Social-Democrata" (Russian) by J. Kresswell.

(Concluded from last week)

Revolutionary class-conscious Socialism does not believe that the reform-miracle will transform capitalism into Socialism. The bourgeoisie in power consents to reforms in two cases only. 1. When the working class has organized and become sufficiently strong to be a serious menace to the existing order. 2. When it believes with the help of reforms it can temper down class rising and quiet the rebellious proletariat. The bourgeoisie consents to partial reforms in order to save the situation for itself. Bourgeois reform carries on its brow the mark of conservatism. The bourgeoisie, as an unwilling reformer, naturally consents to a minimum of reforms. And it tries to cut and dry every reform in such manner that it will cost least. But in no case does it undermine the system whereby it secures its commanding position.

No dominant class has as yet consented to voluntary suicide. If reform menaces its life interests, it struggles against it as fiercely as against revolution, and it struggles with fire and sword. Therefore, as reformers intend to obtain their hobbies with the help of the reigning powers their efforts are condemned to failure. Sooner or later they are bound to stumble on insurmountable obstacles and come to a head-on collision with the wall of capitalism.

This wall must be destroyed. It is impossible to circumvent it. Cunning is useless where might is necessary. The proletariat will not steal its way to victory. It will win in the open organized struggle only, when the historic hour arrives.

The proletarian point of view of reform differs fundamentally from the bourgeois point. The proletariat strives for reform not simply to make present existence tolerable, but to better the conditions of the struggle for its liberations It views reform as a partial liquidation of an enormous debt due it from contemporary society. Therefore it fights for a maximum of reforms and protests against any reduction of them.

Bourgeois reform differs from the proletarian in its motives, scope and possible consequences. For instance, there are issues from which the proletarians must scamper as from a conflagration. In substantiation of this innumerable facts could be cited. We will only point to the activities of Bismarck in the era of anti-Socialist legislation. That activity was called forth by the growth of Socialism, and, according to the calculation of the Iron Chancellor was to have served as an impediment to Socialism's further development. The Social Democracy viewed said actvity of the man of blood and iron in the same light. It held itself critically toward his reforms.

Different viewpoints lead to different estimates of reform. The bourgeoisie and its political flag-bearer, the Democrat, are interested in having every crumb falling from plutocracy's table regarded as a gift from Heaven, something immense and priceless. Every petty reform granted is weighed like gold and the proletarian "rabble" is expected to be forever grateful. The more valuable the sop is considered, the more secure is bourgeois existence. The loud mouthed and turbulent proletarian gets his gullet filled. He has sold his birth-right and the supremacy of his class for a mess of pottage. And talented men with a too susceptible imagination, like Jaures, for instance, who has a weakness for proclaiming every bourgeois reform the greatest triumph of the age, unconsciously play into the hands of the most bitter enemies of the proletariat.

The proletariat and its representatives hold a contrary view. They plainly see the immense difference, not only between revolution and reform which partially eases the capitalist yoke, but also those splinters of reform which becloud real gains. And the proletariat is not satisfied with crumbs. It does not muffle its glorious war song nor lay down its victorious arms, but its demands grow ever louder. It does not apologize, but forever criticizes bourgeois demands. Socialist reforms, i. e., such as have the Socialist essence, will be possible only when the proletariat become political masters. The proletariat will then of necessity have to become an opportunist to a certain degree on account of the backwardness and reaction of the masses, parts of whom will be ignorant remnants of the old order. During the transition period from the old to the new system, the proletariat will grant a series of temporary measures enumerated in the Manifesto of the Communist Party. These measures, these reforms, will be carried out by Socialists in the interests of Socialism.

Marxians point out the natural bounds of bourgeois reform. This boundary is first of all, capitalist private property, which can be diminished but not destroyed, with an income tax or similar measures. Another boundary of capitalist reform is the chronic financial deficit. The yearly budget of the bourgeois state has grown terribly for the last ten years. What are these colossal sums expended upon? Upon militarism, the maintainance of immense armies against the interior as well as exterior foe. Significant reforms deserve considerable expenses. But capitalist society, forced to keep an armed peace at a yearly expense of ten billion dollars, lacks the means. Jaures understood that when he so forcefully started to preach wholesale disarmament, and like a drowning man grasped the straw of the Hague Peace Conference. The revolutionary Marxian Socialist is even deprived of this hope. He knows that capitalism and militarism are like the Siamese twins, they cannot be got rid of one at a time. And on this score reform has narrow and well defined limits.

Meanwhile, how does the controversy between the reformers and Socialists end? At Nurnberg the "orthodox" unquestionably conquered. The comparatively large number of votes, about one-third of the whole convention, polled by the revisionists, is explained by the following circumstances: In the first place, the Congress convened in southern Germany, the Eldorado of revisionism. The number of southern delegates was very considerable. They had continually declared for reform. In other parts of Germany they succeeded in attracting an insignificant number of devotees.

In the second place, the revisionists threatened to split the party in a most unceremonious manner if an unfriendly resolution were passed by the convention. They were preparing to deliver this terrible blow to the joy of the enemies of the party, which, thanks to its powerful unity, successfully weathered so many storms.

As if to fulfill their famous formula, "the movement is everything, Socialism, the final goal is naught," the revisionists had up their sleeve another formula: "Revisionism is everything, the party—naught." But the half-century old Marxian theory and the sharpening class struggle have accomplished their mission. The work of revisionism has landed on the rocks of bankruptcy.

It is otherwise in the petty bourgeois Romance states, such as France and Italy. Here flourish the anarchists and the anarchist syndicalists, and, thanks to their noise, the reform movement has increased. Anarchy plays into the hands of reform.

In France the anarchist syndicalists, these poor specimens of anarchism, and still poorer syndicalists, entered into a coalition with reformers, Blanco-Jauresists gainst the hated Marxists. They aided them in obtaining the majority in the party. In France the reign of high-sounding, quasi-revolutionary phraseology begins at this period. The revisionists promised an immediate "Eden" on capitalist soil. The anarchist syndicalists, on their side, assured immediate prosperity by declaring a general strike. Agitation, education, organization—this is too slow, monotonous and peaceable. "Direct action," i. e., conflicts with police and troops on the streets, in conjunction with strikes—that is the only thing worth while. The syndicates alone possess the character of the class organization. The strike alone is the manifestation of class war. The Socialist Party is a composition of different elements, united in opinion only but not by interests. Such is the theoretical rubbish of the French and Italian anarchist syndicalists.

In practice, however, their tactics have suffered complete defeat. Everything and everybody that are sound have shaken them off. In France their tactics have led to the slaughter of Villeneuve, St. George, and in Italy the rout at Parma. The reformers have utilized this defeat of the anarchist syndicalists. They, the reformers, thanks to that defeat, have gained supremacy in the party.

In France the erstwhile allies of the "direct action" confusion have not decided to break away as yet, but considerable coldness is felt already. And had there not been an enemy in the field, i. e., the Marxians, this union would have perished long ago.

In Italy the reformers have never united with the anarchist syndicalists. The syndicalist movement has a purely reform character. The syndicalist reformers and the reform politicians, with Turati at their head, have won a victory at Florence. The anarchist syndicalists of the Labriola-Sorell school did not even appear at the convention. Their influence is nill. They by their tactics have weakened the left wing of their party and strengthened the right one. The Socialism known in Italy as "integralism" has given way to the pure reform of Turati and Basolaty. In France so far, flourishes the coalition of Jauresist, Blanquist and syndicales. But the later are condemned to the role of a fifth wheel in the chariot.

We in France are on the eve of the complete triumph of "reformism." The Socialists have only one, a solid hope. The natural development of the class struggle will take care of "reformism." The reality will kill illusion.

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PITTSBURG SLAVES

Shocking Conditions of Life Revealed by Inquiry.

Pittsburg, March 8.—Chief Investigator Kellogg, who is the editor of "Charities and the Commons," the vehicle for the reports on the Pittsburg survey, sums up some of his findings of his surveyors in these paragrahs:

1. An altogether incredible amount of overwork by everybody, reaching its extreme in the twelve hour shift for seven days in the week in the steel mills and the railway switch yards.

2. Low wages for the great majority of the laborers employed by the mills, not lower than other large cities but low compared with the prices—so low as to be inadequate to the maintenance of a normal American standard of living; wages adjusted to the single man in the lodging house, not to the responsible head of a family.

3. Still lower wages for women, who receive, for example, in one of the metal trades, in which the proportion of women is great enough to be menacing, one-half as much as unorganized men in the same shops and one-third as much as the men in the union.

4. An absentee capitalism, with bad effects strikingly analogous to those of absentee landlordism, of which Pittsburg furnishes noteworthy examples.

5. A continuous inflow of immigrants with low standards, attracted by a wage which is high by the standards of southeastern Europe and which yields a net pecuniary advantage because of abnormally low expenditures for food and shelter, and inadequate provision for the contingencies of sickness accident and death.

6. The destruction of family life, not in any imaginary or mystical sense but by the demands of the day's work and by the very demonstrable and material method of typhoid fevor and industrial accidents; both preventable, but costing in single years in Pittsburg considerably more than a thousand lives and irretrievably shattering nearly as many homes.

The tension which characterizes nearly all of the work in the steel mills manifests itself in a physical and mental strain upon the workers, which is gradually growing beyond the powers of human endurance. He invites those interested in the sociological survey of Pittsburg to imagine themselves the pilot of a travelling crane, guiding the course of a white hot ladle of steel, where a sudden jar or the breaking of any piece of the mechanism of propulsion may spill the liquid metal on the backs of the men below. This may be part of the twelve hour shift and seven days a week toil. Is there any wonder that such a worker may be gray haired at 35?

Whatever may be the success of the Pittsburg proletarian housewives in reconciling the laws of dietetics with prevailing steel workers' incomes of from $12 to $14 a week, the New York social surveyors find that the social life among the iron and steel workers is at a very low ebb. John Andrews Fitch, a fellow of the University of Wisconsin, and one of Chief Kellogg's willing surveyors, relates that the library and the concert play but a minor part in the leif of a workman who labors on a twelve hour shift.

"It necessarily follows," Fitch believes, "that as books, lectures and concers are cut off from the steel worker, so too are the better forms of social life. The younger men not infrequently take the time and trouble to dress up for an evening of social enjoyment. There are few over 30, however, who have not given up social observances entirely.

"But the natural desire for companionship cannot thus be stifled, and so the saloon comes forward as the social center. It is a perfectly natural following of the line of least resistance that brings many of these men to the saloon. They do not need to change their clothes and shave before being made welcome."

Fitch goes on to say that the social allurement is not the only factor that takes the steel workers to the saloon. The great heat that permeates nearly all the departments of the mills creates a very natural thirst. The men go to the saloons to assuage this thirst.

The steel worker is made a creature of tremendous effort at high tension, says this surveyor, because of the constantly increasing tendency of the mill bosses to "speed up" the production all along the line.

"The very terminology of the steel mill communities bears witness to this, where the overseer of a gang of laborers is called the "pusher." The men higher up have the more dignified titles of foreman and superintendent, but their function is not different, excepting as their fields of administration are broader and more difficult. They must get out the product."

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SIMPLE STUDIES in SOCIALISM

A BRIEF HISTORICAL AND EXPLANATORY OUTLINE.

By WM. H. CUSACK,
Chicago Ill.

(Concluded.)

SOCIAL PROBLEMS—DRUNKENNESS

"There are a thousand hacking at the branches of evil, to one who is striking at the root."—THOREAU.

Dr. Jas. C. Wilson says that "Rum is at once the refuge and the snare of want, destitution and sorrow. . . . Exhausting toil under unfavorable circumstances as regards heat and confinement, predisposes to drink, as in the case of foundrymen, workers in rolling mills, stokers and the like. . . . Monotony of occupation, as in the case of cobblers, tailors, bakers, printers, etc., especially when associated with close, ill-ventilated workrooms and long hours of toil, exerts a strong predisposing influence. . . . Bodily weakness and inability to cope with the daily tasks imposed by necessity impel great numbers of persons of feeble constitution, especially among the laboring classes, to the abuse of alcohol." (Pepper's "System of Medicine").

Professor Commons tells us that "The overwork of mothers in factories and sweatshops is the very hot-bed of drunkenness for generations to come. Whatever bequeaths a defective or deficient nervous system will predispose the inheritor to inebriety."

As far back as 1860 Justus von Liebig wrote, "The whiskey habit is not the cause of poverty but its result. Only in exceptional cases a well nourished man becomes a victim of this habit. But the [illegible] who by his toil cannot earn sufficient to buy food of such quality and in quantity that his labor power can be maintained, he will be forced by an [illegible] law of nature, to resort to the [illegible] bottle."

It is evident that shorter hours of labor, better food, sanitary workshops, and improvements of a like nature would do more to eradicate drunkenness among the workers than a million speeches or sermons. The assertion that the poverty and misery of the working class is a result of drunkenness is merely a platitude.

The liquor bill in the United States is almost as large as the total wages paid to the working class, and Commissioner Wright of the United States Department of Labor, informs us that the average workingman's family in the country spends only twenty-five cents per week for liquor. From this it is plain that the capitalist class, who prate so much about the intemperance of workingmen, spend an enormous amount for liquor. They are a much smaller class numerically than the workers, yet they spend more on alcohol in one day than the workers do in a month. Even if temperance were the order of the day it could never accomplish any economic advance for the workers. The millions of Buddhists and Mohammedans are a temperate people yet they are far from being happy.

The only way to effectively combat the liquor traffic, is to abolish the present system with all its profit-mongery. When there is no profit in handling liquor, there will be no one to encourage the buying of it.

PROSTITUTION.

"The starvation wages paid to young women in stores, factories, restaurants, and other places, compel many of them to earn money elsewhere; and when they are thrown upon their resources, unequipped to earn their living, the temptation is very strong to barter away their virtue for what may seem to them adequate money rewards. . . . Prostitution is very largely the effect of the unfortunate circumstances of these poor girls, and the material for brothels is largely recruited from the stores, the factories, and the sweatshops, where they must work many and weary hours for cruelly small pay." (Jas. F. Scott, M. D., "The Sexual Instinct.") In Chicago alone there are over 30,000 prostitutes and over 50,000 in New York city. This is a terrible condition of affairs. Think of the frightful ravages of disease which results from this condition. It has been said that about 25 per cent of the whole population suffers more or less from syphilis. This disease is very often acquired innocently. It is a curse, a plague.

INSANITY.

"Luxury, idleness, excesses, syphilis, debility, drunkenness, poverty, disease, and overwork, produce vitiated constitutions in which varying types of insanity appear in various nations and climates." (Dr. Chas. Folsom, Pepper's "System of Medicine.")

The above mentioned causes of insanity seem to be an integral part of the present social system. The mad dog-eat-dog struggle for profits, and the complexities and complications of capitalism will continue to produce insanity, and the only way to eliminate this social malady is to overthrow the system that produces it, and substitute Socialism in its stead.

CONDITIONS OF THE WORKERS.

In the United States the free owned and unencumbered home is fast becoming a thing of the past. The United States Labor Report, 18th Vol., pp. 54-55, shows that 81 per cent. of working class families live in rented homes, and 8 per cent. of the homes are mortgaged, leaving less than 11 per cent. owned free and unencumbered. This shows how rapidly the United States is becoming a nation of tenants.

In New York city, according to the census report, there are a little more than 400,000 homes. Less than 9,000 of these homes are owned free and unencumbered, and less than 14,000 families have even mortgaged homes, whereas 384,349 are rented. What a spectacle. What a glorious advance the workers enjoy after all these years of progress, these marvelous strides of civilization. In this same New York city, according to Jacob Riis, friend and co-laborer of Theodore Roosevelt, there are 360,000 windowless rooms, "and they exist in defiance of the law."

Other large American cities present a similar picture. Chicago with its "Ghetto" and "back of the yards," its endless chain of slums and disease breeding hovels, is a disgrace to "Twentieth Century Civilization." The miserable wages paid to the workers force them into the slum districts and keeps them there. They are forced to live from hand to mouth and to toil incessantly.

THE UNEMPLOYED.

The army of the unemployed is an integral part of capitalist production. Without this reserve army, the workers could secure an increase of wages and shorter hours very easily. Therefore the capitalist class sees to it that there is always a surplus of workers on the labor market to be used in cases of strikes and lockouts. In a Socialist state an army of the unemployed would be inconceivable, as production would not be carried on for profit, but strictly for use.

CHILD LABOR.

Child labor is one of the social problems of the day, and it is increasing with alarming rapidity; in some instances growing more rapidly than population. The employment of children is one of the main causes of stunted manhood, and is a direct cause of sickness and premature decay. Children are worked long and weary hours in filthy disease-breeding factories and mines, instead of being sent to school and given the necessary care and healthful surroundings which go to make up a strong mind and body. A civilization that allows its future generation to be dissipated in this way is not worthy of the name.

POVERTY.

Poverty is part and parcel of the existing regime. All over the world where capitalism has planted its flag of commercialism, this problem presents itself. The wages paid to the workers, on an average, are barely sufficient to provide them with the mere necessaries of life, and when they are thrown out of work they become impoverished.

Industrial depressions are a terrible source of misery to the poorest workers. Production now ceases when the capitalist can no longer derive profits therefrom, and the workers are thrown upon the labor market and exposed to starvation. Improvements of machinery also throw workers out of employment and cause intense suffering. The gross contradiction of present society is that the workers make the finest clothing and wear the flimsiest, build mansions and live in hovels, produce the best food and eat the worst, and dig all the coal and freeze. In sight of an abundance of commodities the workers are most miserable.

In former stages of society, famines appeared only when the soil yielded no harvest, but in capitalist society, famine afflicts the working class when the markets are glutted with the fruits of the earth and the products of industry.

The remedy for poverty is the same as for the other evils of capitalism—remove the cause. Socialism is the only solution.

O, WORKKERS!

"The seed ye sow, another reaps,
The wealth ye find, another keeps;
The robes ye weave, another wears,
The arms ye forge, another bears.

"Sow seeds, but let no tyrant reap,
Find wealth, let no imposter keep;
Weave robes, let not the idle wear,
Forge arms, in your defence to bear."

INDUSTRIAL CRISES.

Industrial crises and depressions are fruits of the present system of production for profit, and would cease to afflict society with the abolition of the system. Production now ceases when the capitalist can no longer derive profits therefrom. Under present conditions this is a necessity, but in an industrial republic, production would not cease so long as there were wants clamoring for satisfaction.

Crises appear almost at regular intervals, and are a result of the fact that the masses are forced to consume as little of their product as possible, while the masters appropriate all the rest. As production is increased by mechanical powers, the capitalist class, even with its luxurious mode of life, cannot dispose of the surplus product of the workers, and it inevitably gluts the markets. Then production ceases, and the workers are thrown out of employment and deprived of the opportunity of even toiling for their bread. They thus are forced to starve in the midst of plenty.

THE TRUSTS.

The Trust is a natural product of competition. Competing capitals are bound to unite as industry develops, and to talk of "busting" the trusts is to talk of putting back the hands of the clock.

A trust is a labor saving institution and is more up-to-date than competition. To attempt to revive the old-fashioned cut-throat competition is like fighting the ocean tides. The trust is reducing the number of social parasites by forcing the petty middle class into the ranks of the toilers. The intelligent wage workers have no sympathy for the "small dealers," as they are just as much of skinflints and labor exploiters as the big capitalists. Increasing the number of burglars in any community doesn't do the community any good.

The talk of "trust busting" is as nonsensical as to talk of "busting" the railroad train and reviving the stage coach. The anti-trust movement puts one in mind of the anti-machinery movement of over a century ago when the English hand loom weavers marched around the country destroying the power looms. Howling mobs drove Hargreaves, Arkwright and Crompton from their homes because they had invented the new methods and displaced the old, which threw the hand loom weavers onto the labor market.

It is plain that the working class has nothing to gain by aiding the middle class. When industry is finally concentrated into the hands of a few men, and when the ranks of the toilers are augmented by the fallen middle class, capitalism will be relegated to the museum of past historical epochs.

In the struggle between the small and the larger capitalists, the fittest will survive, and when the struggle is over, the industrial ocean will bear upon its bosom fewer craft, and the trust will be triumphant. Then the mission of the toilers will be to take over the control of industry and abolish all social parasites.

INEVITABILITY OF SOCIALISM.

In proving the inevitability of the triumph of Socialism, we need but to examine past social systems and the laws which govern social development. In looking over history, we find that man was a savage, and that he gradually developed into a civilized state. We find that chattel slavery held sway. Later we come to feudalism, and this feudalism was displaced by the present system of production. We find, again, that all tendencies of present times point to the ultimate concentration of industry into fewer and fewer hands. The more productive forces are increased and developed, the more helpless the wage workers become, and as they are more and more dispossessed of opportunities and even the chances of employment, they will be impelled by necessity to accomplish their historic mission—the abolition of class society and the inauguration of an industrial republic in which each and every individual shall acquire an economic security. It can be seen that with the close of the eighteenth century, which marked the rise to power of capitalist production, the worker owned his own small implements of production, and he was consequently self-employed, and was master of his whole product. Therefore, no contradiction existed. It was private production and private appropriation, and if this status remained to the present day, Socialism would not be heard of; but, in the course of social evolution, the tools of production grew and developed into mammoth machines, which gradually displaced private, and inaugurated class ownership of these means of employment. In modern industry, the workers are grouped together in factories, and the productive processes being socializd, comes this contradiction;—social production and individual ownership and appropriation. This contradiction cannot continue. Society must either revert itself back to individualistic production, so as to be in harmony with the existing individual form of ownership and appropriation, or adopt social ownership and appropriation to harmonize with the already existing form of production.

However, this latter solution is destined to prevail, as the wheel of history never revolves backward. The whole trend of industrial development will forcibly carry society onward to the Socialist Republic. When the working class has aroused itself to action, and accomplishes its historic mission, man can walk the highlands and enjoy the vision of a land without masters, a land without slaves.

(The End.)

The Paris Commune

A Brief Sketch of Its Rise, Its Foes, and Several Lessons.

The Paris Commune, that laudable attempt of the workingmen of France's capital to give to the world a working class government, may have been crushed out, but it has not lived in vain. Its claims to distinction and veneration lie not so much in what it achieved,—it was too short-lived to be allowed to accomplish anything—as in what it symbolizes and for what it suffered. Marx has beautifully said of it: "Workingmen's Paris, with its Commune, will forever be celebrated as the glorious harbinger of a new era. Its martyrs are enshrined in the great heart of the working class."

How did the Commune happen? How came about the circumstances that the working people secured control of Paris? Was it a concession wrested by the working class from the bourgeois government of France; the outcome of a trial of strength at the polls between the two classes of modern society, and the workers winning out? No! The Commune was rather precipitated by the course of events resulting from the disastrous outcome to the French Empire in the war it had declared against Prussia. When the French Marshal MacMahon's forces were shut up at Sedan by the German army and Napoleon III. delivered his sword to the Prussian King, Paris declared monarchy at an end and set up the Republic. This was on September 4, 1870. Paris armed itself to resist the invasion of the foreign foe. It formed a citizen soldiery, a National guard. It was workmen who composed this national guard and they had distinct communal tendencies. This was the fact which alarmed the old powers.

As soon as the Republic was declared by Paris, it was seen that to insure order and prevent anarchy, government, administration of public affairs would be necessary. There had to be a central directing authority, else things would have been hopeless chaos. A provisional government was therefore set up. The administration was to act temporarily until elections could be held to seat the people's choice. This course was perfectly proper. But the individuals who stepped forth to claim the official positions in the Provisional Government were of a class hostile to Labor. They were men, who, under the Empire, had been representatives of Paris in the national assembly, the *Corps Legislatif.* They now claimed the right to assume direction of affairs on the strength of their old mandates as legislators. Their claim had no basis in fact, because, with the downfall of a political regime all rights existing under it likewise are swept away. Still, Paris left Jules Favre and his pals take up the reins of government. Why? Marx tells us:

"In the turmoil of surprise, *with the real leaders of the working class still shut up in Bonapartist prisons* and the Prussians already marching upon Paris, Paris bore with their [former representatives] assumption of power on the express condition that it was to be wielded for the single purpose of national defence."

This act was, however, one by which the Paris population turned itself over into the hands of its implacable enemy. Thiers, Favre, Ferry and the rest of the members of the Provisional Government understood that there should be a simulation of national defence, but were determined that there should be national defeat. Their reason for this is also told with clearness by Marx as follows:

"Paris was not to be defended without arming its working class, organizing them into a effective force, and training their ranks by war itself. But Paris armed was the Revolution armed. A victory of Paris over the Prussian aggressor would have been a victory of the French workman over the French capitalist and his state parasites. In this conflict between national duty and class interest, the Government of National Defence did not hesitate one moment to turn into a Government of National Defection."

In the Prologue of Lissagaray's "History of the Commune," will be found the details of this government defection. Marx also shows that the officials had resolved to lead Paris to defeat. It is sufficient for the purposes of this sketch to state that the "Government of National Defection" succeeded in preventing the Parisian workers resisting the Prussians. On January 29, 1871, a little over four months from the declaration of the Republic, the German flag was raised over Paris.

According to the terms of capitulation a national assembly was to be elected within eight days to ratify the terms of peace made by Thiers. This body was hurriedly elected and met at Bordeaux. It is known as the Bordeaux Assembly and was for the most part composed of "Rurals," royalists and reactionaries whom Thiers had been interested in having elected. Its only reason for existence was to settle upon the terms of peace. It was given no powers beside that. Yet immediately upon assembling it struck a hostile attitude towards Paris,—Paris which called it into being and which could dissolve it. On this head Bax says of the body: "This so-called 'National Assembly,' not content with fulfilling its mandate of settling the terms of peace, at once set about openly scheming the overthrow of the Republic."

The dominant note of this assembly was war upon Paris, because Paris meant the ascendancy of the working class. The city was from the very first insulted. Garibaldi, a Paris representative, seeing the trend of things and the insolence of the clericals and conservatives rose to resign his mandate. He was howled down. Lissagaray tells us that: "The thoughtless said, 'the Chamber will last only a day, since it has no mandate but to decide on peace and war.' Those, however, who had watched the progress of the conspiracy and the leading part taken in it by the clergy, knew beforehand that these men would not allow France to escape their clutches." And Marx ennumerates the usupatory acts of the Assembly as follows: "Paris was exasperated by the frantic anti-republican demonstration of the 'Rural' Assembly and by Thiers's own equivocations about the legal status of the Republic; by the threat to decapitate and decapitalize Paris; the appointment of Orleanist ambassadors; Dufaure's laws on over-due commercial bills and house rents, inflicting ruin on the commerce and industry of Paris; Pouyer-Quertier's tax of two centimes upon every copy of every imaginable publication; the sentences of death against Blanqui and Flourens; the suppression of the Republican journals; the transfer of the National Assembly to Versailles; the renewal of the state of siege declared by Palikao, and expired on the 4th of September; the appointment of Vinoy, the Decembriseur, as governor of Paris—of Valetin, the Imperialist gendarme, as its prefect—and if D'Aurelles de Paladine, the Jesuit general, as commander-in-chief of the National Guard."

Thus this Bordeaux contingent was certainly bent upon a "bloody business." Yet throughout all these premonitions of a coming storm the Central Committee of the National Guard remained passive. It was not before the "Government" attempted to make good its demand of compelling Paris to deliver up its arms, arms which strictly belonged to the National Guard and no one else, that a stand was taken. Thiers had sent some of his Federals to the capital in the night of March 17 to steal the cannon. The project was unsuccessful, no horses haivng been provided to draw the guns away. When Paris awoke the next morning it beheld the dastardly acts. The robbery was stopped, even the troops sent by Thiers fraternizing with the populace. Thereupon the Commune was proclaimed, March 18, 1871.

It fell to the Central Committee of the National Guard to take charge of affairs, which it did, but it immediately announced that it wished an election to be held for the purpose of naming municipal councillors. A manifesto which the committee issued sounded this revolutionary note:

"The proletarians of Paris, amidst the failures and treasons of the ruling classes, have understood that the hour has struck for them to save the situation by taking into their own hands the direction of public affairs. They have understood that it is their imperious duty and their absolute right to render themselves masters of their own destinies, by seizing upon the governmental power."

In this manner the Commune was proclaimed. It was rather thrust upon an unready people. But that does not detract from the heroic spirit in which it was accepted and the resolves to give the working class the very best of conditions. In this respect, from the viewpoint of the ability of the working class to govern itself, the Commune was a success. It did not go down to defeat because it was in any sense "impracticable." The vehement denunciation and frenzied opposition of the world-wide capitalist class to the Commune are the best testimonials of its inestimable worth to the workingmen. It would have "made good" had it been left alone, but the enemy was bent upon its destruction and accomplished it.

In the fact that the Commune was battered down by the opposition material interests, lies the great lesson for us of to-day. The revolutionary working class should not make the mistake of thinking that the ruling class will relinquish its holdings with equanimity. Speculation on this point is idle. And any question of buying the capitalists out only saps the revolutionary spirit of the world's workers. To buy out the bourgeoisie amounts to admitting the legitimacy of their present practices of plundering, and this is the very negation of revolutionism. Disaster only can follow such teaching.

Of course, we recognize that if force will have to be resorted to in the Social Revolution, the fault will lie with those unwilling to abide by the dictates of the people. But we must prepare our forces accordingly. Education, sound Socialist Labor Party education, will be the most important instrument in avoiding disaster in this respect.

There are those who, meaning well, are taken in by the argument that, in order to induce workingmen to accept the principles of Socialism, a "practical" demonstration of it must be given. These individuals are found lending support to "co-operative colonies." The Commune forever answers the question of the feasibility of such schemes. Co-operative colonies, apart from their error of attempting to reform society behind its back, would no more be allowed to succeed by the capitalist class than was the Commune.

The workingmen of Paris made several damaging military mistakes—mistakes that must be attributed to a want of class consciousness, with all that the term implies. They were too hopeful for the governmental rascals to turn out not so bad. Besides they themselves seem to have wished to appear not such horrible monsters as the hostile press and interests were proclaiming them to be. Their misleading policy cost them dear. They had it in their power to coop up the ringleaders of the counter-reovlution: they failed to seize the opportunity. The Bordeaux Assembly was certainly a lawless body and should have been squelched at once: Paris simply looked on. The Commune needed funds. The Bank of France was in their hands. Still their representatives went to the governor of the bank and begged for loans, whereas they had the right to help themselves. The "sacred right" of property no doubt was fresh and ringing in their ears.

The resources of this bank, according to Lissagaray, were, coin 77 million francs; bank notes 166 millions; bills discounted, 899 millions; securities for advances made, 120 millions; bullion, 11 millions; jewels in deposit, 7 millions; public effects and other titles in deposit, 900 millions. This was certainly a prize to hold against the foes of the Commune. Yet it was all left untouched. Had it been seized the claimers of law, order and property would have hesitated considerably before plunging upon their lawless career.

Bax mentions a great weakness. He tells us: "One of the most unfortunate characteristics of the leaders of the Commune was their sensitiveness to bourgeois public opinion. The first thing for the leader of a revolutionary movement to learn is a healthy contempt for the official public opinion of the 'civilized world.' He must resolutely harden his heart against its 'thrills of horror,' its 'indignation,' its 'abomination,' and its 'destestation,' and he must learn to smile at all the names it will liberally shower upon him and his cause."

What a warning and its need to be heeded to-day! Contrast the Hillquits and the Robert Hunters basking in the sunshine of capitalist "respectability." Consider the pre-election boosts which these gentlemen and "parlor Socialists" received from the press of the enemy. And then think of the revolutionary fibre of an organization harboring such individuals. Contemplate the Spargos, the Stokeses, and all the other fry in the Socialist party camp who chase after the "better classes" and whose consuming ambition is to be considered respectable by the enemy. Polite revolutionists! It were to laugh were it not so deplorably tragical.

Further, reflect upon the capers of such papers as the "N. Y. Call," declaiming against traction trusts, and demanding Strap Hangers Leagues, and withal flying the colors of 'Socialism.' It beats the Journal for contempt. Yet the Socialist party is no better than its children. That party, in short, has all the earmarks of a traitor to Socialism, a deceiver of the deepest dye. It is an organization which apes the conventional standards of capitalist "respectability" and engrafts them upon the working class, instead of inspiring that class with the ethical standards of the Social Revolution. Away with that disgrace!

The Paris Commune has lived for the modern working class. Its experience should not go unnoticed. We honor our noble dead on the 18th day of March for the glorious work to which they dedicated their lives. It is with heart-breaking sorrow that we look back over the horrible fate which they were made to suffer. It would seem as though the fates were determined that purity, justice and kindness should not be enthroned. But the highest respect, the greatest tribute that we can bring to our departed heroic comrades is that we profit by their example and resolve that no such calamity shall again overtake the working class.

Let us be men; let us be women; let us, above all, be revolutionists. Face the truth, and respect that only. The Socialist Labor Party has a message to deliver. Let every upright person ponder that message.

E. S. L.

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The New York Labor News Company is the literary agency of the Socialist Labor Party. It prints nothing but sound Socialist literature.

WEEKLY PEOPLE

28 City Hall Place, New York.
P. O. Box 1576. Tel. 129 New York.
Published every Saturday by the
SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
Frederick W. Ball, National Treasurer.

Entered as second-class matter at the New York Post Office, July 13, 1900.

Owing to the limitations of this office, correspondents are requested to keep a copy of their articles, and not to expect them to be returned. Consequently, no stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES.

In 1888	2,068
In 1892	21,157
In 1896	36,564
In 1900	34,191
In 1904	34,172
In 1908	14,237

Subscription Rates: One year, $1.00; six months, 50c.; three months, 25c.

All communications for the Weekly People, whether for editorial or business departments, must be addressed to: The Weekly People, P. O. Box 1576, New York City.

Subscribers should watch the labels on their papers and renew promptly in order not to miss any copies.

Subscribers will begin to get the paper regularly in two weeks from the date when their subscriptions are sent in.

SATURDAY, MARCH 20, 1909.

The civilization and justice of bourgeois order comes out in its lurid light whenever the slaves and drudges of that order rise against their masters. Then this civilization and justice stand forth as undisguised savagery and lawless revenge.

—MARX.

ONE NARROW ESCAPE—GOOD LUCK FOR THE NEXT!

The Labor Movement has had a narrow escape. Over the head of Chief Justice Sheppard of the Court of Appeals of the District of Columbia, who correctly held that an injunction restraining a paper from making a publication was in violation of the Constitution forbidding any law abridging the freedom of the press, and that, if a paper inflicts injury, the remedy lies in a suit for damages,—over the head of these sound but dangerously untimely views, the Court fortunately upheld with slight modifications the injunction issued by Judge Gould, and upon which Judge Wright based his sentence of Gompers and associates for contempt of court.

The action of the District Court of Appeals was as the times require. A reversal of Judge Gould's writ would have been harmful to the healthy growth of the Labor Movement of the land.

All the good that the Labor Movement could derive from the wrongful acts of Judges Gould and Wright have been derived. The last drop of good was squeezed out of them. They served to demonstrate the class nature of capitalist Government—one measure for the capitalist, another measure for the workingman—law for the former, arbitrariness for the latter. This was a valuable lesson without which the Labor Movement can not make real progress. It was a lesson read line upon line, and enforced with logical strictness. Had Chief Justice Sheppard's views unfortunately prevailed, sound though they are in the abstract, that lesson would have been lost. The escape was narrow; but it was made. That's good. That was one narrow escape. There are other danger points ahead.

The danger points ahead lie in the procedures that are to test Judge Wright's sentence. These are stages of danger. May they likewise be escaped, and the sentence stand and be enforced.

The lesson so far taught by the—thanks to a long-headed Providence!—so far triumphant Van Cleave injunction proceedings is, so far, one-legged, or, rather, one-and-a-half legged. The full leg was furnished by Judge Gould's writ together with the decision sustaining the same just rendered by the District Court of Appeals. The half leg was furnished by Judge Wright's sentence. The rest of the leg—it is to be hoped Providence will not now forsake the Labor Movement!—will be furnished by the decisions sustaining the sentence upon appeal. Then will the lesson stand on two solid legs.

What capitalist Government is—that the Labor Movement has now learned. What now remains for it to learn, so it may stand, and walk—and run, is that it must become ORDERLY, and that, to become orderly, it must abandon the disorder-breeding theories of pure and simple Unionism.

Given the capitalist social order, Labor is a merchandise—live stock. The economic law dictated by the capitalist social order is that the price of merchandise—live stock included—depends upon its supply in the market. The price of the live stock merchandise Labor, that is, wages, can not emancipate itself from this law, under capitalism. To support capitalism, and yet strive after a wage rate that is a denial of capitalist economic law, is irrational. As a consequence, to uphold a social order that decrees the status of merchandise to Labor, and yet expect human treatment for the merchandise, is to cap the climax of irrationality. Gompers and his fellow sentencees represent this double dyed insanity, and promote it. Those who do should take the consequences—the kicks when the master wills it, the crumbs when he so may please.

Gompers, Mitchell, Morrison have barked back at the master whom they worship, sacrosanct Capitalism. For such insolence, not to say profanity, they deserve, under the social order they uphold, to go to jail. Only then will they have fulfilled their mission in the scheme of the Movement. When the turn-key turns the key upon them, then will the lesson be complete to the Labor Movement.

Order, not disorder, does Progress demand. Gompersism spells disorder. Not until the sublime aspirations, of which Gompersism is a caricature, take to heart the double lesson, and organize on the political as well as on the industrial field to overthrow the capitalist social order,—not until then will the Movement enlist the Genius of the Age to its standard, because not until then will it represent ORDER.

May that blindness with which Providence is proverbially credited with smiting those whose downfall It has decreed not fail the American Labor Movement at this pinch. May the danger points ahead be escaped—however narrowly—as the danger point just behind was escaped, and Judge Wright's sentence be sustained.

ABBE LOISY.

That element in social reform movements whose mania is to fight "religion" should pause before the appointment of Abbe Loisy as Professor of the History of Religions at the College de France by the Government of Catholic France.

Abbe Loisy is an excommunicated prelate. While, in the strict sense of the word he can not be said to be the founder of the powerful intellectual movement now going on within the Roman Catholic Church, called Modernism, and against which the Papacy has fulminated its bulls, all the same Abbe Loisy was the leading Church dignitary who, before Modernism crystallized into a movement, brought the stores of his vast erudition and the fires of an upright mind against tenets that he repelled as alien to religion, and which in fact had no purpose other than to subserve the ends of politics in ambush. The political forces thus unmasked were not slow to make felt what powers they have left. They broke loose with all the force they could muster together under present enlightenment over the abbe's devoted head. Persecuted, inhibited, encyclicaled against, Abbe Loisy held his ground, and when the Modernist Movement took shape he quickly found his place in its foremost ranks, thus drawing upon himself collectively all the Papal bolts he had been the target of individually. It is such a personality that has just been distinguished with a professorship in the College de France—a Catholic country.

The Socialist Movement has nothing to do with religion—anymore than it has to do with astronomy, mechanics or therapeutics. That which seems to argue to the contrary—the conflict that the pulpit of all creeds has initiated by its attacks against Socialism—in fact proves the point. Only that which is threatened resists. Socialism threatens the capitalist State: it is the ambushed politics of capitalism, ambushed behind the word "religion," that the attack comes from. How distinct the two are, and that the two can be held distinct, is the object lesson furnished by the appointment of Abbe Loisy.

"DOING THINGS."

From Socialist party premises its only consistent body is located in Wisconsin, and its ablest head, naturally, is Victor L. Berger, the leader of the Wisconsin organization with headquarters in Milwaukee. It is natural, in turn, that Berger's slogans should permeate the national organization. The boast and brag "We are doing things," so common on the lips of S. P. speakers everywhere, is a slogan that started with Berger, and has been handed down, or around. Up to now it was a difficult matter to discover what the "things" were that the S. P. was "doing." Like the Irishman's flea, the "things" never could be caught, so to speak. The mystery is, finally solved—and solved at headsprings. Berger, and, through him, the S. P., is, indeed, "doing things," at least one "thing," and a valuable thing it is.

From the theoretic economic viewpoint the principle is elemental, from the practical political view-point, in order to help disentangle the proletariat from the tangle-foot platforms of capitalist parties, the principle is essential that the working class does not pay the taxes, these being paid by the capitalist class out of that portion of the wealth produced by Labor which Labor never gets, it being plundered from Labor in the process of production. Is it possible for the S. P., through Berger, to be helping to establish so important a principle? Strange as it may seem the S. P., through Berger, is "doing" this very "thing."

Through the influence, underground or overground, of Milwaukee's A. F. of L. organizations, in general, and, in particular, through the influence of the Milwaukee Typographical Union, of which Berger is an indefatigable member, the City Council decided to make the Union Label a requisite in specifications for printing contracts. As everybody knows, such specifications imply dearer printing contracts; as everybody also knows, the higher the expenses of Government all the higher the taxes; as, furthermore, it is well known, Berger's Milwaukee S. P. is "feared and respected and heard from" in Milwaukee's City Council, into which he has elected a large number of his party members; finally, as every cat and dog, in Milwaukee particularly, is aware of, the elected Berger city officials sit up at night to protect the working class from being burdened. Seeing all this, here, accordingly, we have Berger proving that the working class does not pay the taxes. How else could he strain after city contracts with specifications that can not choose but jack up the taxes?

Class-consciously enough, the Milwaukee Court, knowing full well that taxes are paid by its own paymaster, the capitalist class, and alert to keep what burdens it can from being dumped upon the capitalist's shoulders, hastened to sustain an injunction to restrain the City Council from incurring the more expensive printing contracts.

Thus directly by Berger's own act, and indirectly by the act that his conduct goaded the capitalist Court to, Berger's S. P., and thereby the whole S. P., is disproving the "Daily People lie" that it is so unsound and bourgeois as to claim that Labor pays the taxes; it is illustrating with obverse and reverse pictures the Socialist truth that the capitalist is the tax-payer;—it is "doing things."

THE PROBLEM AND TASK.

The Nome, Alaska, "Industrial Worker," organ of the Nome Miners' Union, affiliated with the Western Federation of Miners, devotes a sympathetic article to the lamentable fracas that has virtually dissolved the I. W. W., leaving, of the once national and promiseful organization, nothing but such "I-am-a-Bums" flotsam and jetsam, as one hears of occasionally here and there, with a Spokane lodging-house as real headquarters, and a sturdy band, with New York for headquarters, that holds aloft, above the wreck on the industrial field, the banner of Industrial Unionism.

Our sympathetic contemporary in Nome does not despair of the future—that's well. All the same, its diagnosis of the disease savors of Bewilderment—a state of mind perilously close to Despair. An opinion that correctly refers to intolerable "autocracy" at the once headquarters, and from that throws the blame upon something that must have been "lacking in the construction" of the organization—such an opinion is the child of Bewilderment, a state of mind that the startling object lesson furnished by the fracas might well justify, but which we should all guard against. The object lesson is pregnant with instruction.

The staunchest of crews could hardly do more than, if it could do as much as, save its life upon a loosely jointed, crazy craft. On the other hand, to turn turtle is the almost inevitable fate of the staunchest and best jointed craft manned by a crazy crew.

The experience made by the I. W. W. supplements the store of practical information which the A. F. of L. has been contributing to the Labor Movement.

Robust ignorance will prevent Progress; persisted in it will cause retrogression. The contribution of the A. F. of L. to the Labor Movement is the loud warning that the body that persists in ignorance is bound to fall behind. A. F. of L. benightedness is sinking the wheels of its chariot into ever deeper ruts, and, consequently, corruption.

A little knowledge crazes little heads. The identical little heads who, within the fold of the A. F. of L. and kindred organizations, caught not the faintest ray of light, or, if they did, were otherwise surrounded with two heavy banks of darkness for the glimmerings which they caught to make them lose their base, these identical little heads lost their equilibrium in the I. W. W., and, when advanced to office, grew so top-heavy that they stood upon their heads. Names are superfluous. They will occur to all who are posted. The contribution of the I. W. W. to the Labor Movement is the equally loud warning that a crazy crew in charge of the best of ships will make it turn turtle, and likewise land in corruption.

Movements make men; the Movement is greater than any man in it. All this is true, and must never be lost sight of. But this other is true also—Movements are of men: without the right men, no Movement. The two principles must be held together.

The joint contribution of the A. F. of L. and the I. W. W. to the practical experience of the economic Movement is—

"Do not, on your life, organize first and educate afterwards: educate first and organize afterwards. Such has been the baneful effect of pure and simple policy that, if you organize first, then one of two things will happen—

Either the leaden weight of pure and simpledom will be too heavy to overcome, and relapse will be certain;

Or, lightweights are sure to turn up at the top, like small potatoes in a shaken barrel, and, adding to the fatuousness of pure and simpledom that they bring along the vainglory which comes from a glimmer of freshly acquired and undigested knowledge, fly off the handle.

—In either case disaster, not unaccompanied with corruption.

THE USES OF KINGDON.

"Lest we may forget" the luminous Marxian generalization that "it is not because he is a leader of industry that a man is a capitalist; on the contrary, he is a leader of industry because he is a capitalist"—lest we may forget this valuable pointer, and fall into the bourgeois-cultivated error that capital is a reward of leadership in industry—lest the fact and the important conclusions therefrom fail to be constantly kept in mind, the stock holders of the Missouri Pacific and Iron Mountain Railroad have considerately elected Kingdon Gould, the son of George J. Gould, and grandson of Jay Gould a member of their Board of Directors.

This action on the part of the M. P. & I. M. R. R. is, indeed, considerate. The profundity of the Marxian theory, quoted above, could not be better confirmed. Kingdon Gould knows about railroading or its financing no more than a spinster knows the division of a battle, nor even the bookish theorick thereof, wherein even the togaed consuls could propose more masterly than he. Yet Kingdon becomes a leader in industry. Why? Simply because he is a capitalist.

Again, Kingdon promises to illustrate another Marxian principle—at least those who elected him a director expect he will, and have said so.

Marx points out that one of the functions of the capitalist, by reason whereof he becomes a "leader of industry," is the function of exploitation, on account of which the form of his leadership, or control is *despotic*. That the electors of Kingdon expect much from this particular function appears from the gusto with which they have hearkened back to an incident in Kingdon's freshman year at Columbia when the stripling drew a pistol upon his fellow students. The electors of Kingdon Gould probably hearkened still further back. They probably recalled, but preferred for good reasons not to mention the incident in the switchmen's strike at Buffalo of 1892, when the switchmen struck to help enforce the 10-hour railroad law just passed, and when the Sheriff of Erie County, refusing to pretend that he could not enforce order and thus furnish an excuse for the calling out of the troops, George Gould, Kingdon's father, shook his fist under the Sheriff's nose and, in regulation capitalist "law and order" style, threatened him with bodily harm. Like father, like son had been verified at Columbia; like father like son is now expected to be verified upon a larger scale by the new "leader of industry."

Thus, like measles and New England rum, which, according to Artemus Ward, have their mission in the scheme of Nature, Kingdon Gould has his mission in the scheme of social enlightenment on two cardinal points—the point of the genesis of the leader of industry, and the point of the despotic function of such leadership.

The New York "Evening Post" speaks of "that almost forgotten animal, the consumer," as a reason why the miners' demand for higher wages should not be granted. If there is an "animal" that has not and never can be forgotten, and that always elbows itself into sight and feeling—most noxious sight, most painful feeling—it is that self-same animal the "Consumer." We are all consumers. He who refers to any one in particular as a "consumer" can not have the whole public, he must have a specific portion of the public in mind. What portion may that be? Why, of course, the portion that consumes without producing—in short the capitalist class. That is the "animal Consumer." He forgotten? He won't let you—not until you have buried him ten fathoms deep in the economic grave to which in due time he will be consigned.

The long-suffering patience of the American people under abuse has long been manifested by its tolerance of the vicious antics of Anthony Comstock, the alleged censor of morals. That there is an end even to the endurance of the most patient is manifested by the rebuke administered to the worthy by Judge Malone, who sharply reprimanded him for conduct that amounted to "placing a price upon crime," and refused to take his oral explanation, demanding that he submit affidavits.

UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS

III.—THE I. W. W. CLUBS AND THEIR SPINELESS OPPONENTS.

By R. Mackenzie, Sydney, N. S. W.

The Socialist Labor Party of Australia was the direct means of bringing into life the agitation for revolutionary industrial unionism, which has resulted in altering the ideas of many in the pure and simple trade unions. They did not necessarily adopt the whole program, but nevertheless some progress has been made in penetrating the hard baked crust of conservatism within which the trade unions are encased. To the physical forcist and the anti-S. L. P.ite this statement is as gall and wormwood, but the fact cannot be denied that wherever the fighting Socialist Labor Party has received its being there, in the front rank of progress, the organization will be found fighting for the emancipation of the working class.

It was the sound literature and teachings of the Socialist Labor Party that resulted in the formation of the concrete I. W. W. and of the clubs in Great Britain and Australasia. The Socialist Labor Party in Australia, on the formation of the I. W. W. in America, held meetings to discuss the new unionism, and much midnight oil was burned considering the embryonic structure from all sides. The outcome was the enthusiastic endorsement of the I. W. W. Preamble, steps being immediately taken to issue a call to form a club for the purpose of propagating industrial unionism in Australia. The S. L. P. members joined in this work to a man. The club was launched in October, 1907.

Looking over the agitation and progress made during my personal experience of eight months, some satisfaction can be felt at the degree of success met with. The club in Sydney has 140 members and clubs are organized in Melbourne, Wallsend West, Wild River, and in Wellington, New Zealand. The Sydney Club is the largest in number and possesses many speakers, far more than are usually met with in one local organization.

Propaganda meetings are held in the Domain and Prince Alfred Park, on the first Sunday in each month, and in outlying districts frequently. The different political Socialist organizations agreed to forego their Domain meeting on that day and the Socialist Labor Party has lived up to the agreement, but the Socialist Federation of Australia only held to it for three meetings. When the street car strike took place, the I. W. W. club was notified, when about to hold their meeting, that the Socialist Federation of Australia would hold a meeting to "expose the hand of the Labor M. P. in the defeat of the strikers." But to one who has seen Holland's tactics 'tis only too evident that his was the hand behind the scenes to make political capital out of the strike. There was no need of the Socialist Federation breaking away that Sunday, as the speakers of the I. W. W. were better fitted from that platform to criticize the failure of the strike, even though Labor M. P.'s had a hand in the defeat, for the conductors and motormen went out under organized scabbery.

At the S. F. of A. convention, Holland had attempted to have a resolution accepted by the S. F. of A., that "the I. W. W. preamble should be altered to allow the I. W. W. clubs to be affiliated with the Socialist Federation of Australasia." At the following meeting of the I. W. W. club, a motion was passed unanimously "That we reaffirm our adoption of the I. W. W. preamble in its entirety." Holland attemtped to justify his action and said "if the resolution for affiliation was carried by referendum vote of the S. F. of A., the members of that organization would join in a body and affiliate the I. W. W. clubs with the S. F. of A." Being unsuccessful in this attempt, and being therefore unable to use the I. W. W. club for his purposes, the street car strike offered the opportunity to violate the voluntary agreement with those clubs. Thus the entering of the wedge of disruption began.

The membership of the clubs is no criterion of the agitation that has spread throughout Australia. Every now and then some "Labor" leader disclaims being a member of the I. W. W.

Recently a letter and copy of the publication of the "Industrial League" of Great Britain, an I. W. W. club, which repudiates political action, was received by the Australian clubs. The Sydney and West Wallsend clubs promptly repudiated that league as an I. W. W. club and forwarded a letter to that effect. Simultaneously there arrived here from America, the "new preamble" of the "I. W. W." which, however, did not affect the clubs, as they are placed on bed-rock, and cannot be shifted by any Axelson or sneak thief tactics.

"Labor" Leaders Scorched.

The present Federal Attorney-General, W. M. Hughes, is a one-time member of the Australian Socialist League. He is a lawyer by profession and is president of the Teamsters' Union and secretary of the Longshoremen's Union. How is that for scientific organization? The pure and simplers evidently flatter themselves they are honored by having such persons as president and secretary.

Hughes is undoubtedly the bitterest enemy of the I. W. W. clubs in Australia. In an ultra-capitalist paper, the "Daily Telegraph," he wrote many two column articles ridiculing and sneering at the I. W. W. peramble. He was replied to by fellow-worker Batho and promptly squelched. Hughes' closing words in the discussion were, "Anarchist, Anarchist."

The next wise guy to thrust a lance at the I. W. W. was a man named Catts, the secretary of the railroad workers and a "Labor" member in the House of Representatives. The I. W. W. gave him no quarter. It challenged him to a public meeting in his constituency to prove his statements, his article in the "Star" having opened with the headline, "The I. W. W. and Blood Red Anarchy." He was picking up the line where his compatriot dropped it. However, the challenge to Catts was too much for him, and he ducked like greased lightning, while his voice became as silent as the tomb. At the meeting in Newtown to reply to Catts some of Catts' dupes were there and shouted "Anarchist," but the speaker, Ostler, handled them without gloves.

The next to try his hand was Arthur Griffiths, "Labor" member in the State Legislature, who, in Newcastle at the eight-hour day demonstration, challenegd the I. W. W. to debate. The West Wallsend club promptly accepted, but Griffiths has dodged and shuffled since then. The debate has not yet taken place, nor will it if Griffiths can avoid it.

The street car and rockchoppers' strike was a splendid opportunity to advocate the principles of the I. W. W., and was taken advantage of to expose the organized scabbery of trade unionism. Then another "Labor" member in the State Legislature immediately accused the I. W. W. of being the cause of all the recent strikes. He was challenged to prove his statements, but he also was put on the run. It is disgusting to see these craft union officials and "Labor" members strutting before their admiring dupes slandering and lying about the I. W. W. How brave they are when they are intoxicated with their overflowing wisdom! But the challenge from the I. W. W. clubs acts like an Arctic stream on their backbones and tongues, and they shrink into nothingness in comparison with their previous braggadocia.

The Australia labor fakir that will combat the representatives of the I. W. W. on a public platform has not yet been found.

Trade Unions Slow to Catch On.

Many of the clubs write to a number of trade unions every month, requesting that an I. W. W. speaker be allowed to address them on industrial unionism. Many reply favorably and the speakers are always accorded a good hearing, though in the majority of cases only half an hour can be spared. Some union secretaries reply thus, or in similar strain: "My union does not desire to hear a speaker on industrial unionism, as we do not require such an address."

Nevertheless, the ear of the rank and file has been gained and there is a growing recognition, specially forced by the recent strikes, that craft unionism is impotent to in any way resist the encroachments of the capitalist class, as the following instances show. In the recent conferences between the workers in the Broken Hill mines and the mine owners, the trade unions conducted the negotiations as the "combined unions," all craft unions being represented, such as miners, machinists, iron molders, etc. The strike or lockout is at present in operation with the various unions standing fast in the struggle against the reduction of wages which the Broken Hill Proprietary Co. is attempting to enforce. The Sydney Trades and Labor Council adopted an alteration in their constitution, which reads as follows.

> **Every society** and council affiliated **shall agree** to and abide by the decision of council in all matters requiring its intervention and judgment.

Provision is made for the necessary machinery to call into being the convention to create the concrete organization in Australia, when a specific number of members are in the clubs.

"The People," the official organ of the Australian Socialist Labor Party, is masterly in its support of the revolutionary union. When the principles of the I. W. W. have been attacked the "People" alone has flown to the defense. In its columns are "the cardinal points of industrial unionism," and every meeting of the I. W. W. clubs, street or hall

(Continued on page 5.)

UNCLE SAM AND BROTHER JONATHAN.

BROTHER JONATHAN, looking excited.

UNCLE SAM—What's the matter?

B. J.—I've been reading a Socialist screed that makes me tired.

U. S. (raising his eyebrows)—What about?

B. J. (with irritation)—Knocking the Anarchists?

U. S.—Have you become an Anarchist?

B. J. (bracing himself up and with a dare-devil look)—Yes; and I don't care who knows it!

U. S.—'Tis your right, old boy! 'Tis your right!

B. J.—And I do object to this nonsense that you Socialists get off against us.

U. S.—What nonsense is it we have been "getting off?"

B. J.—This pretence of "political action!"

U. S.—Oho!

B. J.—The screed I read admits that the ballot, without physical force to back it, is a rattle to entertain fools with.

U. S.—Is there any nonsense in that? Is the ballot worth anything without the physical force to back it?

B. J.—No. That's sensible enough.

U. S.—That makes one charge of nonsense knocked out. Bring up the next.

B. J.—Well, the nonsense lies in that very sentence. If the ballot is a rattle, unless there is physical force back of it, then it must be sheer nonsense to bother with the ballot at all. Physical force will have to be used anyhow. Why not start with physical force? What's the sense in frittering away energy on the ballot, when it needs backing. That's nonsense; sheer nonsense;—nonsense, I say.

U. S.—And I say you made a mistake to invite me to that meeting of Anarchists the other night.

B. J.—How so?

U. S.—Because I saw you people elect a sergeant-at-arms—

B. J.—Why shouldn't we? We want order at our meetings.

U. S.—Was there any disorder before you elected the sergeant-at-arms?

B. J.—No; but there might be. And there has been disorder before; and we found it harder to elect a sergeant-at-arms after the disorder started than before. We simply provided for the emergency. There were several people there who we know would create a disturbance if they had a chance. That's why we elected a sergeant-at-arms. And we gave them warning.

U. S.—And you thereby did the very thing you claim is nonsense, when done by the Socialists. If it is nonsense to try the ballot first before using physical force, then it is nonsense to give the disturbers warning before firing them out.

B. J. begins to look silly.

U. S.—If sense consists in starting to fight first and discarding the ballot, then sense would have consisted at your meeting in starting to put out the known disturbers before settling down to business.

B. J. looks still sillier.

U. S.—If, seeing the necessity for physical force is possible, or even probable, therefore, the use of the peaceful means of the ballot is nonsense, then, seeing the necessity for a sergeant-at-arms at your meeting was probable, you were a lot of perambulating lumps of nonsense in not starting to work with your sergeant-at-arms first.

B. J.—Well, I did make an ass of myself!

U. S.—Jonathan, the man who can see and, furthermore, admit his error—that man is no ass. Such a man erred and one time or another, he was bound to discover his error, admit it, as you do and strike solid ground again. You erred. You were humbugged with sounding phrases. But you did worse. There never is an error, but it spreads the area of error, like a contagion. The moment you took in the Anarchist microbe, you helped spread it—

B. J.—I didn't—

U. S.—You did unconsciously. The error that is not fought is an error that is encouraged. By not fighting the error, seeing you believed in it, you encouraged it. Now, then, redeem yourself by resisting the police-spy-inviting fatal error or pure and simple bombism. Fight it everywhere.

CORRESPONDENCE

[Correspondents who prefer to appear in print under an assumed name will attach such name to their communication, besides their own signature and address. None other will be recognized.]

GLOVERSVILLE PLEDGES REGULAR SUPPORT TO THE OPERATING FUND.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Inclosed find $1.00 for the Operating Fund from Section Gloversville. The Section pledges the same amount monthly to this fund. R. V.

Gloversville, N. Y., March 9.

OPEN LETTER TO FRED HESLEWOOD FROM MRS. OSCAR NEEBE.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—I request space for the enclosed open letter to Heslewood.

Regina Neebe.

Chicago, March 10.

Chicago, March 10, 1909.

Fred Heslewood—

I am very sorry to be compelled to mix in this affair, but it is too much to stand by and see men maligned, as Daniel De Leon is being maligned by such men as you, Mr. Heslewood.

I received a correspondence from a friend in the Northwest stating that you, F, Heslewood, are making the assertion that on the trip to the Stuttgart Congress, De Leon traveled first class, and had a Negro to sponge and rub him down every day, while you, Heslewood, traveled steerage, with all the inconvenience that that implies. Now you, Mr. Heslewood, told me upon your return that you traveled second class.

Now, Fred Heslewood, did you forget that when you returned from Stuttgart you told us how you traveled, and that De Leon was the prince of men, and that you and De Leon stopped at the same hotel, and that after De Leon left, you were lost, as he was able to assist you because he could handle the language, etc.?

Now, if De Leon had "a Negro to wait upon him," Mr. Frank Bohn must also have had such an attendant, for comparing the expense accounts of De Leon and Bohn there are but a few dollars' difference.

And how about yourself, Mr. Heslewood? Your expense account does not seem to be any less than De Leon's account. How about that? If you traveled steerage, and, not having "a Negro to rub you down," your expense account should have been considerably less.

Furthermore, Mr. Heslewood, you traveled from the West to Chicago on a pass, which you were very careful not to let the office, or headquarters know anything about. Did you want to keep it secret because you desired to put in your bill to headquarters of the I. W. W. for the full fare?

At the third annual convention you came to our place to see us, and had nothing but praise for those whom you now abuse as "politicians," and every other epithet that you can apply.

Why this change in one short year?

Why did you not call upon us, in your two or more weeks' stay in Chicago this last trip, and explain your change of opinion, as regards these "political gentlemen"? You studiously kept away because you knew what you had said a year before, in 1907, and you were afraid to face the music.

Do you remember how you were waiting here in Chicago for headquarters to get money before you started for the West, and at the same time you had $100 in Canadian money, which you were very particular to keep from the office, or to let the office know anything about, for fear that you would not receive anything from the office, as they were short at the time?

Mr. Heslewood, do not go calling decent men "grafters," and other names when your own skirts are not clear.

I may have something more to say in the future; this, I think, is enough for this time. I hope, Mr. Heslewood, you will take a lesson from this. If not, I have more facts to bring to light, if necessary. Regina Neebe.

UNINSPIRING S. P. PAPERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Knowing the "People" is edited, owned and controlled by workingmen of the Socialist Labor Party, I send you an editorial which appeared in the "Los Angeles Record," a capitalist newspaper, on March 4. The editorial is on the question of class consciousness and it takes up the remarks of a broker who was being examined for jury duty in the Calhoun case in 'Frisco. The broker told Heney that: "My sympathies and prejudices are all with Mr. Calhoun, Mr. Ford, and their associates. My friends are all of that class, and I would never vote to punish any of them. . . . I wouldn't find him (Calhoun) guilty under any circumstances." In reference to this the said editorial says: "Class consciousness in this country has always existed. But so far as it is a real force, it has had its origin in the men who have made of themselves a class fattening on the rest of frenzied finance, monopoly and organized loot."

Being myself a Socialist the editorial appealed to me in this way: It is better than anything I have ever read in the "Chicago Daily Socialist," "The Appeal to Reason," or the "New York Call."

Los Angeles being a town where the A. F. of L. has no foothold, a town where the A. F. of L. could not "tie up" a bread wagon, let alone a street car line, or a railroad, the editor of the Record will loose no patronage by sending out such editorials. That is why he does it, to increase the circulation of his paper. In New York, Chicago and 'Frisco, strong A. F. of L. editors must cater to the rank and file of craft or A. F. of L. unionism. The editors of the "Chicago Daily Socialist," New York "Call," or "The Appeal to Reason" and certain other capitalist newspapers, some sailing under the name of "Socialist," others not, must print the "dope" that will get the "subs" regardless of principle or the working class movement.

The Socialist party in Los Angeles became so "broad" they broke in the middle, and now both factions are trying to nibble around the edges of the labor movement. Each faction has a paper, one, the "Common Sense," the other, the "Socialist Bulletin." "Common Sense" used the word "comrade" forty-four times in their issue of March 27, and the "Bulletin" used the word "comrade" only four times in their issue of March 5th. Judging from these "facts," "Common Sense" is the "best Socialist paper," with due respects to comrade Sanftleben.

Trusting the Socialist party will "clear up" on industrial unionism and help establish a Co-operative Commonwealth, I remain, yours for economic freedom, O. W. Sewell.

Los Angeles, Cal., March 5.

SLAVE MARTS REMAINING AFTER LINCOLN.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Among all the Lincoln anecdotes and stories which were published in the daily papers of the Windy City during Lincoln week, I read one which told of the impression that was made upon Lincoln when he saw the slave market at New Orleans.

Now, I walk a great deal down North Clark street, Chicago. At the corner of Elm street is the slave market of the Chicago Railways Company. It has been a usual sight for me to see here for the last two years a long line of men stretched from south to north waiting for jobs. But astounded was I when on Monday, March 1, I beheld the line stretched not only from south to the offices, and a similar line formed from the north, but also one ten abreast stretched from east to west. The sidewalk was completely covered with men, and their objective point was the auction block (company's desk), behind which sat the slave buyer, who personified the C. R. Co., the inquisition of officers, and the judge of human flesh. None of the slaves wore shackles, nor was there any authority around holding a whip to prevent the serfs from crossing Mason and Dixon's line. The immense supply proves that multitudes are flocking to Chicago.

What a lesson upon the election of last fall! Who but the larger corporations are a factor in buying labor-power, and therefore can intimidate Labor? Who but they can dictate to Labor how it should vote, and why should it not vote for the plutocrats? Could the dope-slingers of the "Red Special" or even the great "Gene" with his preaching yank any of those men out of the line?

Dope is dope whether it be sold by the S. P. or over the bar of a public house. It lifts you up a few moments, and after it evaporates, the Katzenjammer remains.

Unconditional surrender of the capitalist class on the political field: take and hold on the economical field be our cry; then the slave marts will disappear, but not till then. W. R.

Chicago, March 2.

S. L. P. ACTIVITY IN CHICAGO.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Gillhaus is now in Chicago. He spoke to a good crowd of Lettish workers Saturday, and gave an excellent talk on party organization work Sunday to the local members. He will be kept busy for the next few days, then, after making a short trip to Milwaukee will return to the city in time to deliver the main address at our Commune Festival on Sunday, March 14th. Gillhaus has made a good impression and no doubt during his short stay will give a good account of himself.

I. Friedman of the Hungarian Branch debated on the "Difference Between the S. L. P. and the S. P." with a representative of the latter organization in Friedman's Hall yesterday afternoon. From reliable accounts of the affair I am informed that our Hungarian comrade handed out to this fellow one of the worst lickings that ever an S. P.-ite got. He was whipped so bad that he refused to take the platform when it was offered him to refute the mass of documentary evidence presented by Friedman proving the S. P. organization to be nothing but a counterfeit.

Our Hungarian members have a splendid organization in the city. They attended the debate in full force and to say that they were elated over the result of it is putting it mildly.

We are going ahead with the work of the Commune Festival and with Gillhaus meetings, and if all goes well success is assured.

Chas. Pierson.

Chicago, Ill., March 9.

PLACE THE PEOPLE IN THE HANDS OF WORKERS.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—We hear frequently nowadays that workingmen are more ready to accept the teachings of the Socialist Labor Party than before, and that is why it is high time for us of the S. L. P. to get a move on and deliver the message to them. I believe that such is the case, but I do not take that to mean that all the workingmen accept the S. L. P. teaching more readily to-day than yesterday, but that there are more of them ready to-day than before. No doubt there are some arriving at a state of mind every day to listen to our teachings. If this is the way the workingman is getting ready, then it is a question of our finding him with our message. We must not depend on chance altogether to run across him. We should hunt for him.

I submit as one way to do that the following: walk up to every man who looks good to us and ask him to subscribe to the Weekly People. I think everyone of us would be tickled if some one would walk up and ask us about the S. L. P. Well, to ask a man to subscribe to the paper gives us a chance to tell him all about the party without his asking. If we can not interest him he is not one of them who are "ready."

I can assure S. L. P. men that I have gained a much better insight of the workingman's state of mind in this way than I could have gotten in any other manner. Even if no sub. is landed, some good is accomplished. Some new thought may have been communicated or some misconception righted. It takes no special ability or "nerve" to do what I suggest. The qualities that all S. L. P. men possess are sufficient. G. A. Jennings.

East St. Louis, Ill., March 3.

THE "CALL" TARRED WITH THE SAME PITCH.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—While looking over some old newspaper cuttings I accidentally came across one from the "Call." It explained what terrible men Hearst employed on his Cosmopolitan Magazine. David G. Phillips had written a series of articles called "The Treason of the Senate." In one of these he showed that Senator Dryden of New Jersey was just as bad as Platt, Depew and Gorman. But on the month when Dryden was "in for his," the Prudential Life Insurance Company, of which Dryden is President, sent in a very large and expensive advertisement. What did bad Hearst's men do? They decided to accept the money for the advertisement, and let Dryden escape further publicity. The "Call," indignantly, calls attention to such mercenary tactics.

But, then, Hearst is a capitalist.

While looking over the "Call" to-day I again failed to see any notice of the lockout on the Jewish "Forward." The treatment accorded the writers on that paper was the cause of a strike and lockout, but while the "Call" was silent about the lockout it had the audacity to acknowledge a donation of $200 from the Jewish "Forward."

One is tempted to say: "Et tu, Brute!" The similarity between the two cases is striking. There is only one important difference: the "Call's" owners are "Socialists."

Ye gods! "Socialists"!

Axel Staal.

Jersey City, N. J., March 4.

"The People" is the paper that you want. Straight and Truthful.

A VOICE FROM AGRICULTURAL NEBRASKA.

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Enclosed is a copy of a letter written by me to Comrade Wilshire which I should be pleased to see published in The People.

L. J. Lambrigger.

Niobrara, Neb., February 23.

(Enclosure.)

Niobrara, Neb., Feb. 23, 1909.

Comrade Gaylord Wilshire,
New York City,
New York.

Dear Comrade:—

Your leaflets issued for February, 1909, with your application blank to join in the Victory Club for 1912, were duly received. In reply I want to say that so far as my sincerity and earnestness in the couse of Socialism are concerned; in regard to the principles involved in the Socialist movement, I am with you as ever, notwithstanding the fact that Local Niobrara, of which I have been an active member, withdrew from the Socialist party movement on February 17. 1909. The Local gave as its reason a resolution, of which I mailed a printed copy to your office on February 20, and I hereby enclose you another, so that you may thoroly understand my reasons and those of Local Niobrara for withdrawing from the Socialist party movement.

There is another reason why I cannot rejoin your, the S. P., movement. Since no man is physically normal without two arms and two hands, and no bird can fly without two wings, so no Socialist movement can reach its ultimate goal without the industrial organization as one of its wings, the political organization being the other wing. Therefore your S. P. cannot land a presidential candidate in the White House in 1912 without the backing of a thoroly organized and disciplined industrial organization to systematically and scientifically take possession of the industries of the country. You know the I. W. W. represented the industrial wing of the movement until it was disrupted and betrayed by the physical forcist element or pure and simple physical force management represented by Vincent St. John, William Trautmann and company. Can you reorganize an industrial union inside of four years to back up a political movement along Socialist lines? It doesn't look that way to me.

Now, I have failed to see that the Socialist party even stands for the industrial side of the co-operative movement to attain the final goal, and I realize that our efforts will be but love's labor lost.

A well managed army has its right and left wing, and the general who does not act along that line will be outflanked by the enemy any time.

I for one do not care to go into a company where all the principles essential to success are not employed. Your education is good in so far as the political side of the question is concerned, except where, since the last Chicago convention, you would exclude proletarian immigration, which is counter to the idea of International Socialism and the universal brotherhood of the proletarian class movement, and is also contrary to the international spirit of uniting the two Socialist parties in any country. Now you have broken faith with International Socialism by rejecting a proposition of unity with the S. L. P. If I cannot keep faith with the principles involved in the Socialist movement if I join your Victory Club for 1912, then I for one will not join it.

Yes, I say your education is good from the political side of the question, with the exception of the defects just pointed out; but damned be a management that omits half the strategy necessary for victory. I am for education, and education all along the line. But it seems to me you only stand for tactics without strategy. What if I were to farm by only sowing the seed, and leave the science of cultivation out of sight, do you suppose I could or would have any grain to reap? I guess not. Or, what if you would employ a man to grow the grain and then omit to furnish him the necessary machinery to harvest it. Would not the labor expended in tilling the soil and seeding be lost?

Books might be written on this topic, but this is enough to show why I cannot make up my mind to join you in the 1912 Victory Club with any idea of confidence in your movement. But I will say that I am ready to help carry out the Socialist education covering all the principles involved in the movement.

In conclusion I will say that I cannot help being astonished that such bright men as yourself, Leffingwell, Wayland, Debs, and others, fail to grasp the abovementioned points as paramount to the success of the Socialist movement.

I am, yours for the revolution all along the practical lines so indispensable to the successful culmination of the Socialist cause,

Leo. I. Lambrigger.

CHARLES BONSALL'S

Bluff Being Called, He Retreats with the Familiar S. P. Yelp.

I.

Rochester, Pa., March 4, 1909.

Editor, The Weekly People,
Box 1576, N. Y.

Dear Sir:—Will you publish, in the W. P., a reply to your "Address" appearing in issue 1/9/09?

Respectfully yours,
Charles Bonsall.

II.

New York, March 5, 1909.

Mr. Charles Bonsall,

Dear Sir:—Regarding the question you ask if we would publish a reply to the "Address of the National Executive Committee of the Socialist Labor Party," which appeared in the Weekly People, January 9, 1909, I would say that, as a general principle, replies to anything that appears in The People are welcome. To decide, however, whether a certain reply will be acceptable before it is seen, its length, and other things considered, is another thing.

Your reply under these conditions will receive respectful treatment.

Respectfully yours,
Edmund Seidel,
Ass't Editor.

III.

Salem, Ohio, March 7, 1909.

Mr. Edmund Seidel,
Ass't Ed. W. People,

Dear Sir:—Your letter 5 inst., addressed to Rochester, Pa., is before me.

As a matter of course, when I ask any publication if it will print an article, it is, "as a general principle," conceded and understood, that such communication must, in order to be admissible, be clothed in respectful language. In your address, there are numerous absurd allegations, and contradictions in logic.

Perhaps I am prejudiced, but past observation and experience make me believe that an answer to said address would not receive fair treatment, and we will drop the matter, with my apology for asking the question.

Yours truly,
Charles Bonsall.

HOW TO JOIN THE SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY.

All persons desiring to attach themselves to the Socialist Labor Party, either by the formation of a local organization known as a "Section," or by joining as members at large, may proceed as follows:

1. Seven or more persons may form a "Section," provided they subscribe to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P., belong to no other political party.

2. Isolated persons, unable to find six others to join with them in organizing a "Section," but desiring to become members, may do so by becoming members at large by signing an application card, subscribing thereon to the platform and constitution of the S. L. P. and answering other questions on said application card.

For application blanks to be used in the formation of "Sections" and for application cards for the use of individual members as well as all other information apply to the undersigned. Paul Augustine, National Secretary—28 City Hall Place, New York City.

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o o o

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OFF-HAND ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS.

NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.

J. P., MOUNTAIN VIEW, WASH.—A religious fakir, holding meetings and collecting funds at the corner of the street, does not sail under false Labor pretences, and does not throw disrepute upon Labor. He throws disrepute upon Capitalist Society. A Labor fakir, holding meetings, making promises, beating the air and collecting funds, sails under false pretences, and he throws disrepute upon Labor and the Labor movement, and he endangers the Labor movement by working upon the sentiments of the weak-minded.

W. S. T., CAMBRIDGE, MASS.—Whether rights are "natural," or not, is a question that can interest only idle minds. The fact is that no "right" is enjoyed until conquered; that no "right" is conquered until a clear conception is obtained thereof; and, finally, that no clear conception is ever obtained of a "right" striven after until economic conditions have shifted so as to shape the conception. This is the practical aspect of the question.

B. A. L., NEW YORK.—An unorganized set of men, however expert in the military drill, is a mob. For the identical reason a craft union, however Socialist its members, is also a mob when it comes to the revolutionary act of assuming the reins of production. For the same reason that individual good soldiers must be organized into an army before they can become effective, the wealth-producing and service rendering population, although individually Socialists, must be organized into the Industrially-constructed economic organization before they can become effective. Craft unionism is at best a disjointed company of soldiers. And it isn't even that.

K. H., NEW YORK.—A fugleman is a soldier who stands in front of a line of men and leads them in military exercises. Hence anyone who sets the pace to others who must follow is called a fugleman. "Fugleman Lewis" means that the Lewis referred to in the article goes through the motions, and his rank and file follow suit.

E. V. McD., TORONTO, ONT.—The Preamble of the I. W. W. is perfectly clear, so clear that it does not suit the Anarchists. It pointedly demands the unification of the working class "upon the political as well as the industrial field." That Preamble stands untouched, and untouchable.

G. G., PHOENIX, ARIZ.—No question about that. To shut one's eyes to corruption in the movement would greatly promote the comfort of the movement for a time. It is like avoiding to leap over the hurdles in a race by pushing them forward. The point will finally have to be reached when the hurdles, pushed forward, can be pushed no more, and then *all* will have to be jumped together—and the neck of the movement broken in the impossible attempt. The only "one thing at a time" admissible in a revolutionary movement is the meeting of corrupt endeavors one by one, as they arise.

G. W., SO. EASTON, MASS.—The article "Will Socialists Sell Out?" unquestionably represents the attitude of the Socialist Labor Party, at the time of its writing and now. Whether the triumphant Socialists be triumphant in the political or in the Industrial Government cuts no figure. Socialists they are in both cases. If anyone thinks the article contradicts itself he should be requested to specify.

S. J. F., CHICAGO, ILL.—Be less "easy" when the next slummist comes along.

F. R., SAULSBURY, TENN.—The solution does not lie in "having the customers own the drug stores." The solution lies in sending every drug store, with almost all their drugs and dopes, to the bottom of the sea—a consummation, which, according to Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, would be a boon to man, but work disaster among the fishes.

F. L., CHICAGO, ILL.—For the history of ancient Greece take Finlay. For the history of modern Greece take Gordon. For Egypt, Dr. Brugsch and Lane.

Next question next week.

A. G. M., EAST ST. LOUIS, MO.—Deductive reasoning is the name given to the system of reasoning that starts from a principle, called "axiom," and thence deducts its theory down to the facts. Inductive reasoning is the name given to the system of reasoning that inverts the process. It starts from ascertained facts, and inducts its theory from these. Of deductive reasoning it is said that it is liable to adapt facts to preconceived principles, contrary to inductive reasoning which adapts principles to facts. Strictly considered, there is no such thing as purely deductive reasoning. The principle, or axiom, from which deductive reasoning proceeds is itself an induction arrived at from some previously ascertained facts.

W. A., BUTTE, MONT.—Is it ingenuous on the part of people who oppose immigration on the gronud that they would not marry their daughters to a Jap? Obviously not. Why not? Because these people befog the issue with matter that is foreign to the economic issue, the only real issue. So likewise it does not betoken ingenuousness to condone slummery on the ground of the manifold imperfections of the best of men. There is a deep and wide chasm between human foibles and the faulty life of the slummist which consist in habitual fraud, and thereby habitually sponging on the proletariat—

Faults in the life breed errors in the brain,
And these, reciprocally, those again.

D. B. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your sixth question—

The modern era of development affected the class lines during its early advance in the same way in which one river, carrying certain sediments, affects, at its confluence, the river that it flows into, and the sediments of which are of different nature. At the early era of this as of the preceding social systems class lines are so embryonic that they are hardly perceptible.

Next question next week.

B. H., NEW YORK.—Now to your other point—

The man who in this year of grace, 1909, holds that "reform is to be had only by showing people that they are of one flesh and that in the long run any injury to one is really the injury to all that—the man who in this year of grace can hold such views differs, not in kind, but only in degree from St. Simeon Stylites of fifteen centuries ago. He also thought so, and made a mess of it.

F. E. M., GRANITE, OKLA.—Now to your third question—

The means by which the present system is to be overthrown—understanding by "means" that which will execute the revolutionary act—is the industrially and class-consciously organized wealth-producing and useful service-rendering population. Extending the meaning of "means" to embrace the means towards the means of the industrial organization—then, that means is the clear-as-a-pike Socialist political party, without which the industrial organization could not recruit its forces, because, without it, the industrial organization could not preach the revolution without immediately degenerating and collapsing into an Anarchist aggregation of slummists. Read the pamphlet "As to Politics."

J. V., ELIZABETH, N. J.—Money is issued—coined or its voucher printed—first, by the Federal Government under the Constitution and acts of Congress; second, by the banks empowered to issue bills to the amount of a certain percentage of United States and such other bonds as the law provides and deposited with the officer designated by the law. As to details, apply to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington for a manual of the monetary laws.

J. U., SAN FRANCISCO, CALIF.; W. L., LOS ANGELES, CALIF.; A. Q., STUTTGART, GERMANY; R. C., SPOKANE, WASH.; "FRIEND," GIRARD, KANS.; G. H., DETROIT, MICH.; R. D., KALISPELL, WASH.; C. C. C., PLEASANTVILLE, N. Y.; J. F. D., NEW YORK.—Matter received.

UNDER THE SOUTHERN CROSS.

(Continued from page 4.)

is reported. The "People" is the champion of industrial unionism in Australia. Get it.

'Tis to be hoped that sufficient education has been done among the workers in Australia to prevent the recurrence of Coates, Sherman, Trautmann, St. John and Axelson tactics.

Watch the label on your paper. It will tell you when your subscription expires. First number indicates the month, second, the day, third, the year.

OFFICIAL

NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.
Paul Augustine, National Secretary.
28 City Hall Place.
CANADIAN S. L. P.
National Secretary, Philip Courtenay,
144 Duchess Ave., London, Ont.
NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO.
(The Party's literary agency.)
28 City Hall Place, N. Y. City.

Notice—For technical reasons no party announcements can go in that are not in this office by Tuesday, 10 p. m.

CANADIAN N. E. C.

Regular meeting of the N. E. C. of S. L. P. of Canada held on March 14, at 67 Bathurst street, London, Canada. Rodgers elected to chair. Absent without excuse, Morrison, Nichol and Weitzel.

Minutes adopted as read.

Communications from R. E. Burns, Hamilton; received and filed. From Baker, Vancouver, B. C., enclosing application for charter together with two dollars for supplies. Received and filed. Charter issued.

National Secretary reported writing Floyd and Salmon, Stratford, in reference to subs for Weekly People; also to W. McCallum in reference to organizing Section in Stratford.

Courtenay and Haselgrove reported progress regarding article for Stratford Beacon.

Moved by Haselgrove, seconded by Bryce, that N. E. C. order one set sample Section Books from S. L. P. of U. S., and 1,000 letter heads at home for use of Sections; carried.

Moved, seconded and carried that National Secretary write all members at large showing their standing.

Moved, seconded and carried that N. E. C. have Daniel De Leon's Hamilton speech, "Socialism and Trade Unionism" printed in leaflet form. Bryce and Courtenay committee for same.

Adjourned.

F. Haselgrove, Recording Secretary.

NEW YORK S. E. C., S. L. P.

Regular meeting of the New York State Executive Committee, S. L. P., was held on Friday, March 5, at the Daily People building, 28 City Hall Place, New York city, with Walters in the chair. Present, Walters, Kuhn, Scheurer and Moonelis. Absent, Donohue, Moskowitz and Lynch.

Minutes of the previous meeting adopted as read. An enclosure of 85 cents in coin card sent out several years ago by S. E. C., was received from D. B. Moore, Granite, Okla., and it was moved that there being no need now for the money in connection with call then sent out, that same be turned over to the Operating Fund, where it is very much needed, and Moore notified to that effect. Carried.

Secretary reported he had as usual notified all members to be present: made a short trip through the State and visited Albany, Schenectady, Troy, Glens Falls, Amsterdam, Gloversville, Little Falls, Utica, Syracuse, Auburn, Rochester, Buffalo and Jamestown, N. Y., and Erie, Pa.: that in all the places visited he succeeded in bringing either new people into closer touch with the Party, got subs for Weekly People or got the members in various Sections to systematize the work of agitation and organization in their respective localities: that as soon as he gets his data in shape will write various people in the different cities visited urging the necessity for their getting into the Party and otherwise advancing the work of organization: that he finds conditions in all the places visited very favorable, and that if the work is followed up, first by correspondence and then by sending some capable organizer to spend sufficient time in each place, permanent and lasting results will be effected; that in all the organized places the members understand the necessity for pushing the Party press and getting in new members; that all the Sections where meetings were held organized the collection of moneys for Operating Fund in such a way that income would be steady, and would also visit readers of Party papers in an endeavor to get them into the organization: that, taken all in all, Sections are in fairly good shape and in position to maintain the Party's work in their respective localities in such manner as will make growth possible. While at Gloversville Secretary received list of readers of German Party paper, and submitted them to each Section visited after that, as well as mailing lists to Sections already visited; visited Section Kings Co. General Committee on February 28 and was invited to come to General Party meeting of that Section Sunday, March 14, and bring before the members same matters he had brought before the members in the State; that he would visit Section Richmond Co. on Saturday, March 6, after doing which he will have visited every Section in the State; that for the Operating Fund he collected $26.85; that at meeting of General Committee of Section Kings Co., the Organizer requested extension of time for sending in vote on State Committee, which the Secretary, subject to the approval of the S. E. C. granted. Received list of Arbetaren and Arbeiter readers and sent them to Sections to which names belonged; Arbeiter lists covered only Brooklyn and Buffalo; will have rest some time next week; sent out general vote on amendment to Constitution, in regard to six months' dues clause. The various actions of the Secretary were approved and plan outlined by him sustained.

It was moved and carried that the Secretary get up draft of Financial Report for Sections, to show members in good standing, occupations, addresses and number of dues stamps purchased by each (as in Section New York County), and to submit to next meeting. Also moved and carried that the Secretary make draft of general letter to be sent to sympathizers, prevailing upon them to join Party, etc., submitting same at next meeting.

Financial Secretary reported receipts, $31.81, mileage, $7.44; total, $39.25; expenses, $81.13. Bill of the Secretary for railroad fares, $13.66, was approved and ordered paid. Bill of postage, Secretary and Correspondence Bureau, $3.66 also approved and ordered paid. Meeting adjourned.

Edmund Moonelis, Secretary.

NEW JERSEY S. E. C.

Regular meeting held in Jersey City, Sunday, March 13. Present: Tinfowich, Schwenck, Gerald and Hossack; Tinfowich, chairman. In the absence of Secretary Herrschaft, Hossack elected secretary pro tem.

Correspondence: From Section Essex and Branches No. 1 and No. 2 of Section South Hudson, nominations for officers of new S. E. C. Secretary instructed to notify the other sections to get their nominations in by March 22, after which he is to see what candidates accept and send out ballots, vote to close April 8.

From A. Moren of Madison, member at large, stating that while he would continue to have his home in New Jersey, he wished to be transferred to Section New York, where he could attend meetings and keep in touch with the party. Secretary instructed to write Moren that the S. E. C. considers that it would be unconstitutional to issue transfer to him, and that he already enjoys membership privileges in Section New York excepting the right to vote.

The treasurer of the S. E. C., having paid out of his own pocket a charge against the S. E. C., the secretary was instructed to see about reimbursing him with Labor News literature on an obligation due the S. E. C. by that party institution.

Secretary.

BOSTON ATTENTION.

Mr. A. H. Simpson will give an address at the headquarters of Section Boston, S. L. P., 1165 Tremont street, Boston, Mass., on SUNDAY afternoon, March 21, at 3 o'clock. Subject, "Lessons to be Learned from the Paris Commune." This lecture promises to be an interesting one and the members are requested to bring their friends. Admission free.

SECTION PASSAIC COUNTY, N. J.

A meeting of Branch I., Section Passaic County, N. J., will be held on Thursday, March 18, 8 p. m., at 211 Hamburg avenue, Paterson, N. J. Members are urged to attend.

R. Katz, Secretary.

ATTENTION HARTFORD, CONN.

A public meeting will be held SUNDAY, March 28, 1909, 3 P. M., at S. L. P. Hall, 34 Elm street, Hartford. Joseph Schlossberg of New York will discuss "Immigration." Admission free. All are welcome.

Organizer.

ATTENTION HARTFORD, CONN.

Section Hartford has arranged a Commune Celebration for SATURDAY evening, March 20, 1909, at S. L. P. Hall, 34 Elm street, Hartford. An original Gulazs will be served on the occasion.

Admission fifteen cents a person.

PACKAGE PARTY.

Lady members and sympathizers of the Socialist Labor Party will conduct a package party and entertainment on SATURDAY evening, March 20, at Mannerchor Hall, 203 East Fifty-sixth street, 7.30 o'clock. There will be music and refreshments. The proceeds will be turned over to help liquidate the deficit of Section New York County.

All those who intend to offer packages for this occasion are asked to send appropriate articles.

When you have read this paper, pass it on to a friend.

FOR YOUR EARNEST CONSIDERATION.

To comrades and friends:—We have some pressing obligations that must be met at once, and we must ask you to help us meet them. The revenue from subscriptions falls far short of our needs, and our friends who were at one time able to help us out with loans, have their own troubles, and cannot accommodate us. We must therefore fall back upon the many by asking them to donate what they can to the Operating Fund, and in that way help us over a rough piece of the road. A road which, by the way, is never smooth.

Several hundred dollars are required to meet obligations that cannot be put off. To raise this money and put us on "easy street," should not be a difficult task for our friends, and it must not be forgotten that 'tis their inactivity that has brought us to the point where we must urge their co-operation either in subscription getting or in donations of cash.

Militant Socialists recognize facts, and they should be guided accordingly. Let clouds break, or not, ours the duty to march forward and push our propaganda. See to it that the work is sustained.

Fail not to make prompt response to this call. Send what you can, as the Scotch saying is: "Every mickle makes a muckle."

Section Gloversville, N. Y. ..	1.00
S. Rohrbach, Reading, Pa. ..	1.00
Sympathizer, Astoria, L. I. ..	1.00
Tony Enos, Eureka, Cal.	1.00
E. M. Scanavino, Tuolumne, Cal.	.50
W. M. Doane, Midas, Nev.	1.00
Comrades of Washington, D.C.	8.00
John Lindgren, B'klyn, N. Y..	$2.00
Marxian Club, Ogden, Utah..	1.00
A. Weiss, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1.00
18 and 20 A. D., New York..	1.00
M. C., Brooklyn, N. Y........	1.00
H. Schmalfuss, Pittsf'd Mass.	1.00
J. Sweeney, Roxbury, Mass...	1.00
E. Rouner, Shawmut, Calif...	2.00
A. F. Alrutz, Schen'ct'dy, N.Y.	.50
C. J. W., Jersey City, N.J....	.50
A. J. Francis, New York	5.00
O. J. Hughes, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
F. G. Maresch, Belli'gh'm, W'sh	2.00
Henry Kuhn, Brooklyn, N.Y.	2.00
Anton Bruch, New York	1.00
Section Cleveland, O.	$19.43
A Comrade, W. Hoboken	1.00
A Sympathizer, New York....	$ 1.00
S. Schwarzman, New York....	1.00
F. Tiddy, Westernport, Md....	1.00
F. Brauckman, Pl'antville, N. Y.	2.00
G. Signarovitz, Brooklyn, N. Y.	1.00
J. Howard, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1.00
H. Kuhn, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1.00
S. Miller, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1.00
M. Aul, Brooklyn, N. Y....	1.00
E. Miller, Brooklyn, N. Y....	.50
G. Gurowitz, Brooklyn, N. Y...	.50
E. Brodsky, Brooklyn, N. Y...	.50
Sympathizer, L. I.	1.00
Section Plainfield, N. J.......	1.00
S. Schwenck, Jersey City, N. J.	1.00
H. Preuss, Newark, N. J.......	2.00
E. Lambe, Brisbane, Australia	.25
Total	$72.68
Previously acknowledged ..	3,646.98
Grand Total	$3,719.66

DE LEON IN ELIZABETH.

Daniel De Leon will lecture in Elizabeth, N. J., on THURSDAY, March 18, 8 p. m. Subject: "The Paris Commune and the Lesson It Has Taught the Working Class of To-day." The lecture will be held in Saenger Hall, corner Fourth street and Elizabeth avenue. Free admission. Every workingman should attend.

BUFFALO LABOR LYCEUM LECTURES.

The following public lectures by Socialists and non-Socialists will be held under the auspices of the Labor Lyceum of Section Erie Couny, S. L. P., every Sunday afternoon, 3 o'clock, at Florence Parlors, 527 Main street. An instructive general discussion follows each lecture. All readers of this paper are invited to attend and bring friends. Admission is free.

Schedule:

March 21.—Boris Reinstein on "Paris Commune and the Lessons It Teaches."

March 28—Attorney Wm. J. Shields. Subject to be announced.

April 4—Willard C. Vincent on "How Shall the Working Class Organize?"

April 11.—Mr. Frederick Almy, of the Charity Organization Society, on "Some Problems of Socialism."

April 18.—Leander A. Armstrong, on "Social and Political Evolution of Man."

April 25.—Attorney Lewis Stockton, on "Should Socialists Demand the City Charter Proposed by the Referendum League."

May 2.—Boris Reinstein, on "International May Day and American Labor Day."

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

WITH THE PROPAGANDISTS

THE ACTIVE BRIGADE KEEPS HUSTLING ALONG—RECRUITS WANTED.

This office is in need of several hundreds of dollars to meet pressing obligations. This money must be raised by our friends, in either of two ways, by sending in subscriptions, or by cash donations. We want you to get busy on this just as soon as it comes to your notice. Don't hesitate. Hustle after subs, or send a donation to the Operating Fund.

Subscriptions were a little better the past week, but not anything like they could and should be. Those sending two or more were:

J. Breuer, Hartford, Conn.	4
F. Brown, Cleveland, O.	6
J. A. Leach, Phoenix, Ariz.	4
J. W. Stewart, Tucson, Ariz.	2
M. J. Cikanek S. Paul, Minn.	4
C. Pierson, Chicago, Ill.	5
J. McTier, Roanoke, Va.	3
O. W. Nelson, Houston, Tex.	4
H. Long, San Francisco, Cal.	3
E. A. O'Brion, Eureka, Cal.	2
J. S. Hetzbrun, San Diego, Cal.	2
W. T. Leach, Montreal, Can.	2
I. H. Arnold, Louisville, Ky.	2
R. K. Snyder, St. Thomas, Ont.	2
J. C. Anderson, Tacoma, Wash.	2
C. E. Warner, New Haven, Conn. ..	2
Robert Schmitt, Omaha, Neb.	2
N. Reihmer, Chicago, Ill.	2
F. Bohmbach, Boston, Mass.	2
A. Gillhaus, Peoria, Ill.	13
S. L. P., Tacoma, Wash.	2

Join this Active Brigade and push the propaganda.

LABOR NEWS NOTES.

Would you be posted on the Paris Commune? We have the books that give the only correct information—"The Paris Commune," by Marx, and "History of the Commune," by Lissagaray. The books are 50 cents each, send a dollar and get the two.

For a period of two weeks—March 13 to March 27, we make a special offer of the Report of the First Convention of the I. W. W., a cloth bound book, 630 pages, 30 cents a copy, we pay postage.

The latest of the Sue stories in book form, Carlovingian Coins, is ready for delivery. It is a 50 cent book.

Party organizations, take notice that the Address, adopted by the N. E. C. last January, is ready for delivery in pamphlet form, 10 copies for 25 cents. Hustle in the orders.

CLEVELAND S. L. P.'S COMMEMORATION OF THE PARIS COMMUNE.

Section Cleveland, Socialist Labor Party, has completed arrangements for its Grand Commemoration of the Paris Commune which takes place SUNDAY, March 21st, at Acme Hall, (formerly Germania Hall), on East 9th street (old Erie street), between Central and Woodland avenues. Program commences at 3 p. m. sharp and consists of Concert music by Boehm's Orchestra, songs by male chorus, solo songs, recitations in English, German and other languages, instrumental solos, comedy acts and, as the "headliner," a one-act play in German by Richard Koeppel, entitled "Ein Verlorener" (A Ruined Life) in which the author shows the social and economical causes of crime. All the different parts are in the hands of talented comrades who have shown on numerous former occasions that they are "at home" on the stage. The play will be followed by a Grand Tableau, another feature that has helped to make the Commune festivals of the Cleveland comrades "famous."

After the program —Ball. Refreshments of all kinds will be served and an all around good time awaits all who come. Tickets for gentleman and lady are 25 cents in advance, and can be had from all members and at office of German party organ, "Volksfreund," 1566 Ontario street, near St. Clair avenue. Tickets at the door 50 cents.

Comrades and friends! The net proceeds of this affair go to the general agitation fund of Section Cleveland and we therefore hope that our friends will turn out in full force and bring their friends and shopmates. The Committee.

LECTURES IN ST. LOUIS.

The Socialist Labor Party will give a series of lectures this winter at their headquarters, 1717 South Broadway, second floor, St. Louis. Lectures begin at 2:30 p. m.

March 21—Does the Socialist party Represent the Interests of the Working Class?

Discussions after each lecture. Admission free.

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PARIS COMMUNE COMMEMORATION IN 'FRISCO.

The Sections of the Socialist Labor Party in San Francisco will hold a joint commemoration of the Paris Commune at Saratoga Hall, 225 Valencia street, near 14th street, on SATURDAY evening, March 20, beginning at 8 o'clock. Admission 25 cents, ladies free. There will be good music and an excellent program.

PHILADELPHIA COMMUNE FESTIVAL.

To commemorate the Paris Commune, Section Philadelphia, Socialist Labor Party, along with the Hungarian and Jewish Federations of the S. L. P., will assemble together with their friends and wives and sweethearts, for a social evening on SUNDAY, March 21, at 730 p. m., in the Hungarian Headquarters, 800 Parrish street.

A good program (to conclude with dancing) is being prepared. Readers of The People are invited. Wardrobe, 10 cents.

SLAVONIAN AND CROATIAN PAPER.

The members of the S. L. P. are hereby notified that the "Workingmen's Struggle," 2446 St. Clair avenue, Cleveland, Ohio, is being published by the South Slavish branch of Section Cleveland, and that it is a strictly S. L. P. publication in the Slavonian and Croatian language. The paper should find all support possible from S. L. P. members.

Richard Koeppel, Editor,
Volksfreund and Arbeiter-Zeitung.

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PETITION

TO ABROGATE THE RUSSIAN EXTRADITION TREATY.

[The below petition is issued by the Pouren Defence Conference, 99 Nassau street, Room 710, New York City, to whom it should be returned when full. It enlists the sympathy of all right-minded men.]

To the Senate of the United States:

The proceedings under the Extradition Treaty with Russia against Christian Rudowitz and Jan Janoff Pouren have amply demonstrated that this treaty endangers; if it does not entirely destroy, the safety of political refugees from the Czar's dominions.

Both these cases have revealed an embarrassing conflict of two standards of justice: Russian and American.

Contrary to the theory and practice of American jurisprudence, the accused were, in fact, compelled to furnish proof of their innocence.

Under the extradition law, no provision is made for bail; in consequence, Jan Janoff Pouren has been imprisoned for more than a year, pending the decision of his case.

In extradition cases the issue of fact is not submitted to the verdict of a jury. It is decided by an inferior federal official, sometimes a lay magistrate, who may not even be learned in the law.

Russia may base her demands upon documentary proof obtained in a preliminary examination, in which all safeguards of the rights of the accused are absent. The documentary proof submitted by the Russian government need not under the Russian laws be sworn to; such evidence would be incompetent in any criminal proceeding originating in our own territory.

The defence, on the other hand, must rely upon witnesses, who are compelled on cross-examination to answer questions that cannot honorably be answered, because to do so would mean to betray their comrades who are still within the reach of the Czar's police.

Thus the time-honored right of political asylum is reduced to a mockery.

In view of the foregoing, the undersigned petition the United States Senate to cause due notice of termination of the Convention for the extradition of criminals, made in 1893, to be given to the Imperial Government of Russia.

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Paris Commune, Lissagaray	.50	
	$1.50	$1.00
Weekly People, one year........................	$1.00	
The 10 following 5-cent pamphlets: The Working Class, The Capitalist Class, The Class Struggle, Preamble of I. W. W., Foundation of the Labor Movement, Anti-Patriotism, Socialist Unity, What Means This Strike? Reform or Revolution, Woman and the Socialist Movement..	.50	
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